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Ec L. ANNÆI FLORI

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RERUM ROMANARUM,

C U M

VERSIONE ANGLICA,

In qua Verbum de Verbo, quantum per utriusque Linguae  
genium fieri licuit, redditur :

OR, A COMPENDIOUS

HISTORY of ROME,

By L. FLORUS.

WITH AN

ENGLISH TRANSLATION,

As LITERAL as possible.

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By JOHN CLARKE,

Author of the ESSAYS upon EDUCATION and STUDY.

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The SEVENTH EDITION.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

**H**AVING already published *Eutropius* and *Cornelius Nepos*, with Literal Translations, and in the Prefaces of these two Books, as well as my *Essay on the Education of Youth in Grammar-Schools*, spoken largely to the Usefulness and Necessity of such Translations, I have little more to do here, than to bespeak the Reader's Candour in judging of the following Performance. The Difficulty of translating in this Way, so as to make the *English* bear a Reading, is what every Body must be sensible of, that knows any thing of the *Latin* Tongue, and considers the wide Difference betwixt the Idiom of that Language, and our own. That Difference therefore must plead my Excuse with such as may think I have not every where worded myself, so justly and properly, as were to be wished, or they themselves could have done, had they been in my Place. He must be a Man of a happy Invention indeed, as well as admirable Skill in the *Latin* Tongue, that, in a Work of this Nature, shall leave nothing capable of Amendment, nothing for those that come after him to correct. It is however what I have not the Vanity to pretend to. And yet perhaps such as may be too inclinable to censure, if they please but to give themselves the Trouble of translating one Book of *Florus*, and compare what they do with the following Translation, may possibly find their Inclination to censure my Performance a little corrected thereby. Their Invention may, no doubt, in many Instances prove more happy

than mine, and yet they may perhaps, upon the Comparison, find themselves almost as deep in the Mud, as they before thought me in the Mire. All I am much concerned for, is to have Things of this Nature well done, whoever has the Honour of the Performance. If I may therefore by thus breaking the Ice, put others of greater Abilities for such kind of Work, upon exerting their Talent, in furnishing the World with more masterly Performances in this Way; the Public will, I humbly presume, still have something to thank me for, and Reason to stand betwixt me and the Severity of those, that may be disposed to carp and find Fault, without either Inclination or Ability to mend what is amiss, and supply our Schools with something better suited to the Design.

WHAT I have already done, has however met with the Approbation of very good Judges, and amongst the rest, of the most learned and judicious *Monsieur Le Clerc*; as the Reader may see, if he pleases to consult the Nineteenth Volume of his *Bibliothèque Ancienne & Moderne*. And I must gratefully acknowledge to the World, that the Encouragement I have met with, has much exceeded my Expectation.

I shall, it's likely, be thought by such as are Judges of the *Latin* Tongue, to have struck a bold Stroke, and risk my Reputation prodigiously amongst the Critics, by pretending to translate, in this Way, such an Author as *L. Florus*: An Author valuable indeed for the Subject he writes upon; but not much to be esteemed, I think, for the Manner of his Performance. He is a loose, injudicious Writer, and withal so figurative, concise, and even whimsical now and then in his Manner of expressing himself, that his Meaning is oftentimes <sup>not</sup> very obvious or easy to come at, and in some Places indeed he seems hardly to have any Meaning at all. His Affectation of Brevity has obliged me more frequently, than was necessary in the



two Authors before-mentioned, to help out my Translation with Words that have none to answer them in the Original; without which *Salvo* my *English* must have appeared absolutely barbarous and unintelligible. But these the Reader will find distinguished by their being in a different Character. Some of the Faults to be found in him are, no doubt, to be charged upon the Hands through which he has been conveyed down to the present Times; but far the greater Part of them are unquestionably to be placed to his own Account. This the Reader will, I hope, consider, and make me just Allowances for, and not think the worse of the Translator, for the Weakness of his Author.

HOWEVER, with all his Defects, he is an Author very proper and necessary to be read in Grammar-Schools for the Sake of his Subject, and by all such as have a Mind to improve themselves in the Language and History of the *ROMANS* together; which with the Help here given them, they may do both with great Ease and Pleasure I could indeed have answered that Intention more fully and effectually, by adding Notes upon my Author; but those I found must be so numerous and large to explain and correct every Thing that required it, as to swell the Book to a Size and a Price that might not be agreeable to the Public, and therefore I have judg'd it more proper to let them alone.

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L. ANNÆI FLORII

RERUM ROMANARUM.

LIBRI IV.

Cum *Versione* Anglica, &c.

**P**OPULUS Romanus a rege Romulo in Cæsarem Augustum, septingentos per annos, tantum operum pace belloque gessit, ut si quis magnitudinem imperii cum annis conferat, ætatem ultraputet. Ità late per orbem terrarum arma circumtulit, ut qui res ejus legunt, non unius populi, sed generis humani fata discant. Nam tot laboribus periculisque jactatus est, ut ad constituendum ejus imperium contendisse Virtus & Fortuna videantur. Quare quum præcipue hoc quoque, sicut cætera, operæ pretium sit cognoscere; tamen quia ipsa sibi obstat magnitudo, rerumque diversitas aciem intentionis abrumpit, faciam quod solent qui terrarum situs pingunt: in brevi quasi tabella totam ejus imaginem amplectar; non nihil, ut spero, ad admirationem prin-

**T**HE Roman People perform'd such great Things in Peace and War for the seven hundred Years from King Romulus to Cæsar Augustus, that if any one compares the Greatness of their Empire with their Years, he will think their Age beyond what it is. So far and wide through the World did they carry their Arms, that they who read their Exploits, do not learn only the fate of one People, but of Mankind. For they were exercised with so many Toils and Dangers, that Virtue and Fortune seem to have contended together for the Establishment of their Empire. Wherefore, since it is especially worth while to know this too as well as the rest; yet because the Greatness of the Subject is a Hindrance to itself, and the Variety of Matter breaks the Edge of the Mind's Attention, I will do what they use to do, who describe the Situation of the Earth. I shall comprize the whole Draught of that People as it were in a little Table, being like to contribute something, as I hope, to the Admiration of this eminent Peo-

cipis populi collaturus, si pariter atque infimul universam magnitudinem ejus ostendero. Si quis ergo Populum Romanum quasi hominem consideret, totamque ejus ætatem percenseat, ut cœperit, utque adoleverit, ut quasi ad quendam juventæ florem prevenerit, ut postea velut consenuerit; quatuor gradus procediut, ut ejus inveniet. Prima ætas sub regibus fuit, prope ducentos quinquaginta per annos, quibus circum ipsam matrem suam cum finitimis luctatus est: hæc erat ejus Infantia. Sequens a Bruto Collatinoque consulibus in Appium Claudium, Quintum Fulvium consules, ducentos quinquaginta annos patet; quibus Italiam subegit. Hoc fuit tempus viris armisque incitatissimum; ideo quis Adolescentiam dixerit. Dehinc ad Cæsarem Augustum ducenti anni, quibus totum orbem pacavit. Hæc jam ipsa Juventa imperii, & quasi quædam robusta maturitas. A Cæsare Augusto in sæculum nostrum haud multo minus anni ducenti; quibus inertia Cæsarum quasi consenuit atque decoxit; nisi quod sub Trajano principe movet lacertas, & præter spem omnium, Senectus imperii, quasi reddita juventute, revirescit.

*ple, if I shew its whole Grandeur together and at once. If any one therefore considers the Roman People as a Man, and runs over its whole Age, how it begun, and how it grew up, how it came as it were to a certain Bloom of Youth, how after that it has as it were grown old, he will find four Degrees and Stages thereof. The first Age was under the Kings for near two hundred and fifty Years, in which they struggled with their Neighbours about their Mother: This was its Infancy. The following Age, from the Consuls Brutus and Collatinus to the Consuls Appius Claudius and Q. Fulvius, reaches two hundred and fifty Years, in which they subdued Italy. This was a busy Time for Men and Arms; wherefore any one may call it their Advance towards Manhood. From this Time to Augustus Cæsar are two hundred Years in which they subdued the whole World. This was now the Manhood of the Empire, and as it were a certain robust Maturity of Age. From Cæsar Augustus to our Times are not much less than two hundred Years; in which through the Inactivity of the Cæsars, they are grown old, and have spent themselves; but that under the Emperor Trajan they again move their Arms, and contrary to the Expectation of all People, the old Age of the Empire, as if its Vigour was restored, it grows gay again.*

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# LIBER I.

## C A P. I. *De Romulo primo Romanorum rege.*

**P** R I M U S ille, & Urbis & Imperii conditor Romulus fuit, Martegenitus, & Rhea Sylvia. Hoc de se sacerdos gravida confessa est, nec mox fama dubitavit, quum Amulii imperio abjectus in profluentem cum Remo fratre, non potuit extingui. Siquidem & Tiberinus amnem representit; & relictis catulis lupa sequuta vagitum, uber admovit infantibus, matremque se gessit. Sic repletos apud arborem, regis pastor tulit in casum, atque educavit. Alba tunc erat Latio caput, Iuli opus: nam Lavinium patris Æneæ contempserat. Ab his Amulius jam his septima soboles regnabat, fratre pulso Numitore cujus ex filia Romulus. Igitur statim primam juventæ face, patrum Amulium ab arce deturbat, ayum reponit; Ipse fluminis amator, & montium, apud quos erat educatus, mœnia novæ urbis agitabat. Geminierant: uter auspicaretur, & rege- ret, adhibere placuit deos. Remus montem Aventinum, hic Palatinum occupat. Prior ille fex vultu-

**T** H E first Founder of the City and Empire was Romulus, begot by Mars and Rhea Sylvia: The Priests, when big with Child, confessed this of herself, nor did Fame soon after doubt it; when by the order of Amulius being thrown into the River with his Brother Remus, he could not be destroyed. For both the God Tiberinus stopped his River, and a She-Wolf leaving her Welps, and following the Crying of the Children, gave her Teat to the Infants, and behaved herself as a Mother. The King's Shepherd carried them, upon their being thus found under a Tree, into his Cottage, and brought them up. Alba was at that time the Metropolis of Latium, being the Work of Julius: For he despised Lavinium, the Work of his Father Æneas. Amulius now the fourteenth Descendant from them reigned, having dethroned his Brother Numitor, of whose Daughter was Romulus. Wherefore immediately in the first Bloom of Manhood, he drives his Uncle from the Citadel, and restores his Grandfather: He being a Lover of the River and Mountains, amongst which he had been educated, thought of building the Walls of a new City. They were twins: They resolved to consult the Gods, which of them should begin the Work and reign. Remus takes Mount Aventine, the  
res,

res, hic postea, sed duodecim videt. Sic victor augurio, urbem excitat, plenus spei, bellatricem fore: ita illi assuetæ sanguine & præda aves pollicebantur. Ad tutelam novæ urbis sufficere vallum videbatur: cuius dum irridet angustias Remus, idque increpat saltu, dubium an iussu fratris, occisus est. Prima certe victima fuit, munitionemque urbis novæ sanguine suo consecravit. Imaginem urbis magis quam urbem fecerat: incolæ deerant. Erat in proximo lucus: hunc Asylum facit: & statim miravis hominum, Latini, Tusci que pastores: quidam etiam transmarini; Phryges qui sub Ænea, Arcades qui sub Evandro duce influxerant.

Ita ex variis quasi elementis congregavit corpus unum; populumque Romanum ipse fecit. Res erat unius ætatis populus virorum. Itaque matrimonia a finitimis petita: quia non impetrabantur, manu capta sunt. Simulatis quippe ludis equestribus, virgines quæ ad spectaculum venerant, præda fure. Et hæc statim causa bellorum. Pulsi fugatique Veientes. Cæninensium captum ac dirutum est oppidum. Spolia insuper Opima de rege, Fere-

*other the Palatine. The former first sees six Vultures, the latter is after him, but sees twelve. Thus being superior in Point of Augury, he builds a City, being full of Hopes that it would prove warlike. Thus those Birds accustomed to Blood and Prey promised him. A Ditch seemed sufficient for the Defence of the new City: The Narrowness of which whilst Remus laughs at, and barbers it by leaping over it, he was slain; but it's doubtful whether by his Brother's Order. However he was the first Victim, and consecrated the Fortifications of the new City by his Blood. He had made the Image of a City rather than a City. Inhabitants were wanting. There was in the Neighbourhood a Grove: He makes this a place of Refuge: And immediately there was a wonderful Number of Men, Latin and Tuscan Shepherds; some from beyond Sea too. Phrygians who had come under Æneas, and Arcadians, who came under Evander their Leader.*

*Thus he made up a Body as it were of divers Elements, and formed himself the Roman People. It was a State of one Age's Continuance only, and a People of Males. Wherefore Wives are desired of their Neighbours, and because they were not obtained, were taken by Violence, For Pretending to have some Horse-Races, the young Women, who came to the Sight of them, were made a Prey; and immediately this was the Occasion of Wars. The Veientes were beat, and put to Flight: The Town of the Cæninensians was taken and demolished: Moreover the King brought with his own Hands the Spoils called Opima, taken from*  
trio

trio Jovi manibus suis rex reportavit. Sabinis proditæ portæ per virginem: nec dolo: sed puella pretium rei, quam gerebant in sinistris, petierat; dubium clypeos an armillas. Illi ut & fidem solverent, & ulciscerentur, clypeis obruere. Ita admissis intra mœnia hostibus, atrox in ipso foro pugna, adeo ut Romulus Jovem oraret, *Ut sædam suorum fugam sisteret.* Hinc templum & Stator Jupiter. Tandem sævientibus intervenere raptæ laceris comis. Sic pax facta cum Tatio, fœdusque percussum: secutaque res mira dictu, ut relictis sedibus suis novam in urbem hostes demigrarent, & cum generis suis avitas opes pro dote sociarent. Auctis brevi viribus, hunc rex sapientissimus statum reipublicæ imposuit: juvenus divisa per tribus, in equis & in armis, ut ad subita belli excubaret: consilium reipublicæ penes senes esset, qui ex auctoritate *Patres*, ob ætatem *Senatus* vocabantur. His ita ordinatis, repente, quum concionem haberet, ante urbem apud Capræ paludem, e conspectu ablatus est. Discerptum aliqui a senatu putant, ob asperius ingenium: sed oborta tempestas solisque defectio, consecrationis speciem præbuerè: cui mox Julius

*their King to Jupiter Feretrius. The Gates were betrayed to the Sabines by a young Woman, not in Fraud: But the Girl demanded as the Reward of that thing, what they wore upon their left Arms; it's doubtful whether she meant their Shields or their Bracclets. They, that they might both discharge their Promise, and be revenged, buried her under their Shields. Thus the Enemy being let within the Walls, there ensued a desperate Fight in the Forum itself, so that Romulus begged of Jupiter, to stop the shameful Flight of his Men. Upon this was a Temple built, and Jupiter surnamed Stator. At last the Women that had been seized came in betwixt the two Parties as they were fighting terribly, with their Hair torn. Thus a Peace was made with Tatius, and a League struck up; and a thing wonderful to be spoken of followed, that the Enemy leaving their Habitations, removed into the new City, and shared the Wealth received from their Forefathers, with their Sons-in-law, by way of Fortune with their Wives. Their Strength being thus in a short time improved, the most wise King settled this State of the Commonwealth: The young Men were divided into Tribes, to watch upon Horseback, and under Arms against the sudden Alarms of War; that the Conduct of the State should be in the Elder Men, who from their Authority were called Fathers, and for their Age the Senate. These Matters being thus regulated, on a sudden, whilst he held an Assembly of the People before the City of the Lake of Caprea, he was taken out of their Sight. Some think he was torn to Pieces by the Se-*

Proculus fidem fecit, visum a se Romulum affirmans augustiore forma quam fuisset: mandare præterea, ut se pro numine acciperent: Quirinum in cælo vocari placitum diis: ita gentium Roma potiretur.

*nate for his rugged Temper; but a Storm arising, and an Eclipse of the Sun hapdening at the same time, made an appearance of a Deification. To which thing soon after Julius Proculus procured Credit, affirming that Romulus had been seen by him, in a more august Form than he had been; and furthermore that he ordered that they should receive him as a God: It pleased the Gods that he should be called Quirinus in Heaven. Thus Rome might be Mistress of the Nations.*

## CAP. II

## De Numa Pompilio.

Succedit Romulo Numa Pompilius: quem Curibus Sabinis agentem, ultro petivere, ob inclytam viri religionem. Ille sacra, & cæremonias, omnemque cultum deorum immortalium docuit: ille Pontifices, Augures, Salios, cæteraque P. R. sacerdotia; annum quoque in duodecim menses, fastos dies nefastosque descripsit. Ille Ancilia atque Palladium, secreta quædam imperii pignora; Janumque geminum, fidem pacis ac belli: in primis focum Vestæ virginibus colendum dedit: ut, ad simulacrum cælestium siderum, custos imperii flamma vigilaret. Hæc omnia quasi monitua Egæriæ, quo magis barbari acciperent. Eo denique ferocem populum redegit, ut quod vi & injuria occupaverat imperi-

*Numa Pompilius succeeds Romulus, whom living at Cures in the Country of the Sabines, they of their own Accord sent for, because of the celebrated viety of the Man. He taught them Holy Rites and Ceremonies, and the whole Worship of the immortal Gods. He instituted the High Priests, the Augurs, the Salii, and other Priests Officers of the Roman People: He divided the Year too into twelve Months, into Court days, and Non-Court Days. He instituted the Ancilia and the Palladium, as certain secret Pledges of Empire, and ordered the Temple of double-faced Janus to be the Sign of Peace and War. Above all things he gave the sacred Fire to the Vestal Virgins to take care of, that the Flame might watch, as it were in Imitation of the Cælestial Bodies, as Guardian of the Empire. All these things were done as it were by the Advice of the Goddess Egeria, that the Barbarians might the more readily accept of them. Finally, he reduced this savage People to that Pass, that they*



um religione atque iustitia gubernaret.

*managed the Government they had acquired by Violence and Injustice, by Religion and Justice,*

C A P. III. *De Tullo Hostilio.*

**E**Xcipit Pompilium Numam Tullus Hostilius: Cui in honorem virtutis regnum ultro datum. Hic omnem militarem disciplinam, artemque belland condidit. Itaque mirum in modum exercita juventute, provocare ausus Albanos, gravum & diu principem populum. Sed quum pari robore frequentibus præliis utrique comminuerentur, misso in compendium bello, Horatii, Curiatiique, ter geminis hinc utque inde fratribus, utriusque populi fata permixta sunt. Anceps, & pulchra contentio, exituque ipso mirabilis. Tribus quippe illinc vulneratis, hinc duobus occisis, qui supererat Horatius, addito ad virtutem dolo, ut distraheret hostem, simulat fugam; singulosque, prout sequi poterant, adortus exuperat. Sic (rarum alias decus) unius manu parta victoria est: quam ille mox parricidio scævavit. Flentem spolia circa se, sponsi quidem, sed hostis, sororem viderat. Hunc tam immaturum virginis amorem ultusest ferro. Citavere leges nefas: sed obtulit virtus parricidam: & facinus

**T**ULLUS Hostilius succeeds Numama Pompilius, to whom the Kingdom was voluntarily given in Honour of his great Ability. He formed all their Military Discipline and Art of War. Wherefore, after he had exercised the fencible Men in a wonderful manner; he ventured to attack the Albans, a powerful and a leading People for a long time. But as both Sides being of an equal Strength, were weakened by frequent Battles, the War being put into a brief Way of Decision, the Fate of each People was committed to three Brothers the Horatii and Curiatii, born at a Birth on each Side. The Dispute was dubious and entertaining, and wonderful in the issue. For three being wounded on that side, and two slain on this, the Horatius that was left, adding Cunning to his Courage, that he might separate the enemy, counterfeits a Flight; and setting upon them single, as they were able to follow, prevails: Thus a Victory was got by the Hand of one Man, an Honour rare at other times, which soon after he sullied by Parricide. He saw his Sister weeping at the Spoils, of one contracted to her indeed, but an Enemy. He revenged this unseasonable Love of the young Woman by his Sword. The Laws called for the Punishment of this Crime; but his Gallantry delivered the Parricide, and the fact was within the Protection of of his Glory. The  
intra

intra gloriam fuit. Nec diu in fide Albanus. Nam Fidenate bello missi in auxilium ex fœdere, medii inter duos expectavere fortunam. Sed rex callidus, ubi inclinare socios ad hostem videt, extollit animos, quasi ipse mandasset: spes inde nostris, metus hostibus. Sic fraus proditorum irrita fuit. Itaque hoste victo, ruptorem fœdoris Metium Fusetium, religatum inter duos currus, pernicious equis distrahit: Albamque ipsam quamvis parentem, æmulam tamen, diruit, quum prius omnes opes urbis, ipsumque populum Romanam transtulisset: prorsus ut consanguinea civitas non periisse, sed in suum corpus rediisse rursus videretur.

*People of Alba went not long in their Duty; for in the Fidenatian War, being sent to their Assistance according to their Treaty, they waited as Neuters betwixt both Parties to see the Success. But the subtle King, when he finds his Allies lean to the Enemy, rouzes the Courage of his Men, as if he had ordered it. Upon that our Men had Hopes, the Enemy Fear. Thus the Treachery of the Traytors was without Effect. Wherefore, after the Enemy was conquered, he tears in Pieces with swift Horses Metius Fusetius, the Violator of the League, tied betwixt two chariots; and pulls down Alba itself, altho' the Parent of Rome, yet a Rival, after he had first removed all the Wealth of the City, and the People themselves to Rome; so that this related City seemed not to have perished, but to have returned into its own Body.*

C A P. IV. *De Anco Marcio.*

**A**NCUS deinde Marcius, nepos Pompilii, pari ingenio. Hic igitur & mœnia muro amplexus est, & interfluentem urbi Tiberinum ponte commisit; Ostiamque in ipso maris fluminisque confinio coloniam posuit: jam tum videlicet præfagiens animo, futurum, ut totius mundi opes & com meatus illo veluti maritimo urbis hospitio reciperentur.

**A**FTER him was Ancus Marcius, the Grandson of Pompilius, of the like Genius. Wherefore he both inclosed the City within a Wall, and made a Bridge over the River Tiber that runs through the City, and planted the Colony of Ostia, on the very Confines of the Sea and the River; even then, it seems, presaging in his Mind, that it would come to pass, that the Riches and Provisions of the whole World should be received in that Maritime Magazine of the City.

## CAP. V. De Tarquinio Prisco,

**T**ARQUINIUS postea Priscus, quamvis transmarino originis, regnum ultro petens, accipit, ob industriam atque elegantiam: quippe qui oriundus Corintho, Græcum ingenium Italicis artibus miscuisset. Hic & Senatus majestatem numero ampliavit, & centuriis tribus auxit; quatenus Attius Navius numerum augeri prohibebat, vir summus augurio, quem rex in experimentum rogavit, *Fierine possset quod ipse mente conceperat?* Ille rem expertus augurio, *Posse* respondit. *Atqui hoc*, inquit, *agitabam, An cotem illam secare novacula posssem?* Augur, *Potes ergo*, inquit: & fecit. Inde Romanis sacer auguratus. Neque pace Tarquinius quam bello promptior; duodecim namque Tusciæ populos frequentibus armis subegit. Inde fasces, trabæ, cûrules, annuli, phaleræ, paludamenta, prætexta; inde quod aureo curru quatuor equis triumphatur: togæ pictæ, tunicaeque palmatæ; omnia denique decora & insignia, quibus imperii dignitas eminet.

**A**FTER him Tarquinius Priscus, although of foreign Original, suing for the Kingdom, got it for his Industry and Politeness; as who being a Native of Corinth, had tempered his Græcian Wit with the Arts of Italy. He both increased the Majesty of the Senate by adding to their Number, and augmented the Tribes with Centuries. Since Attius Navius forbid the Number to be increased, a Man very considerable in Augury; whom the King for a Trial asked, If that could be done which he had conceived in his Mind? He having tried the Matter by Augury, answered, It might. But, says he, I was thinking of this, Whether I could cut that Whetstone with a Razor? You may then, says the Augur; and he did cut it. Upon that Augury was sacred among the Romans. Nor was Tarquinius more active in Peace than War. For he reduced the twelve Nations of Etruria by frequent Battles. From thence came the Fasces, the Trabæ, the Ivory Seats, Rings, Horse-Trappings, the General's Cloaks, and the Prætexta; thence is it that our Commanders triumph in a Gold Chariot, with four Horses; thence the flowered Togæ, and striped Tunicks; finally, all the Ornaments and Marks of Distinction, by which the Dignity of Government becomes conspicuous.

CAP. VI. *De Servio Tullio.*

**S**ervius Tullius deinceps gubernacula urbis invadit, nec obscuritas inhibuit, quamvis matre ferva creatum. Nam eximiam indolem uxor Tarquinii Tanaquil liberaliter educaverat, & clarum fore visa circa caput flamma promiserat. Ergo inter Tarquinii mortem, annitente regina, substitutus in locum regis, quasi ad tempus, regnum dolo partum sic egit industrie, ut jure adeptus videretur. Ab hoc populus Romanus relatus in censum, digestus in classes, curiis atque collegiis distributus: summaque regis solertia ita est ordinata respublica, ut omnia patrimonii, dignitatis, ætatis, artium, officiorumque discrimina in tabulas referrentur; ac sic maxima civitas minimæ domus diligentia contineretur.

CAP. VII. *De Tarquinio Superbo.*

**P**ostremus omnium fuit regum Tarquinius, cui cognomen *Superbo* ex moribus datum. Hic regnum avitum, quod a Servio tenebatur, rapere maluit, quam expectare; immisisque incum percussoribus scelerare partam potestatem

**A**FTER him Servius Tullius seizes the Government of the City, nor did the Meanness of his Birth hinder, tho' he was born of a Mother, that was a Slave. For Tanaquil the Wife of Tarquin had liberally educated his extraordinary Genius; and a Flame that was seen about his Head, promised that he would be a famous Man. Wherefore, whilst Tarquin was a dying being put in the King's Place by the Queen's exerting herself upon the Occasion, as it were only for a Time, he managed the Kingdom got by this Wile, so industriously, that he seemed to have got it by Right. By him the Roman People were brought under a survey, distinguished into Parishes and Companies. And by the great Dexterity of the King, the Commonwealth was so regulated, that all the Differences of Estate, Dignity, Age, Trades, and Offices were put in Tables; and thus a great City was governed with all the Exactness of a small House.

**T**HE last of all the Kings was Tarquin, to whom the Surname of Proud was given from his Manners. He chose rather to seize by Violence, than wait for the Kingdom of his Grandfather, which was possessed by Servius; and having set some Assassins upon him, managed the Power got by Villainy, no better than he had acquired it. Nor was

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non melius egit, quam acquisierat. Nec abhorrebat moribus uxor Tullia, quæ, ut virum regem salutare, super cruentum patrem vecto carpento, consternatos equos egit. Sed ipse in senatum cædibus, in omnes superbia (quæ crudelitate gravior est bonis) grassatus, quum sævitiam jam domi fatigasset, tandem in hostes conversus est. Sic valida oppida in Latio capta sunt, Ardea, Oriculum, Gabii, Sueffa Pometia. Tum quoque cruentus in suos; neque enim filium verberare dubitavit, ut simulantem transfugam apud hostes hinc fides esset. Cui Gabiis, ut voluerat, recepto, atque per nuncios consulenti *Quid fieri vellet*; eminentia forte papaverum capita virgula excutiens, quum per hoc interficiendos esse principes intelligi vellet, (quæ superbia!) sic respondit. Tamen de manubiis captarum urbium templum erexit, quod quum inauguraretur, cedentibus cæteris deis (mira res dictu) resistere Juventas, & Terminus. Placuit vatibus contumacia numinum. Siquidem firma omnia & æterna pollicebantur. Sed illud horrendum, quod molientibus ædem, in fundamentis humanum re-

*than he had acquired it. Nor was his Wife Tullia different from him in Point of Manner, who, to salute her Husband King, as she was riding in her Chariot, drove the frightened horses over her bloody father. But he proceeding against the Senate by murders, and against all by his pride, (which is more intolerable to good Men than Cruelty) after he had tired out his severity at Home, at last he turned upon his Enemies. Thus the strong Towns in Latium were taken, Ardea, Oriculum, Gabii, and Sueffa Pometia. Then likewise he became bloody to his own Relations. For he scrupled not to lash his own Son, that thence he might have Credit with the Enemies, when pretending himself a Deserter. Who being received at Gabii, as he desired, and consulting his Father by Messengers, What he would have done, Tarquin striking off the Heads of the Poppies, which, by chance, were higher than the rest, being minded to have it understood by that, that the Great Men were to be taken off, (O what Pride!) so he answered. Yet he built a Temple out of the Spoils of the taken Cities; which, when it was inaugurated, the other Gods all yielding, (it is a Thing wonderful to be said) Juventas and Terminus stood stiff. The Stubborness of the Gods pleased the Sooth-sayers; since they promised that all would be firm and eternal. But that was dreadful, that a Man's Head was found in the Foundation by those that built the Temple; nor did all doubt, that this fine Omen pro-*

pertum est caput; nec dubitavere cuncti, monstrum pulcherimum, imperii sedem, caputque terrarum promittere. Tandiu superbiam regis populus Romanus perpeffus est, donec aberat libido: hanc ex liberis ejus importunitatem tolerare non potuit. Quorum cum alter ornatissimæ sceminæ Lucretiæ stuprum intulisset, matrona dedecus ferro expiavit. Imperium tum regibus abrogatum.

*mised that the Seat of Empire, and the Head of the World would be there. The People of Rome suffered the Pride of the King, whilst Lust kept clear: That Vexation they were not able to endure from his Sons: One of which having committed a Rape upon Lucretia, a finely accomplished Lady, the Matron wiped off the Shame by the Sword. Upon that all Power was taken from the Royal Family.*

CAP. VIII. *Anacephalæosis de septem regibus.*

**H**ÆC est prima ætas Populi Romani, & quasi infantia, quam habuit sub regibus septem, quadam fatorum industria tam variis ingenio, ut rei publicæ ratio & utilitas postulabat. Nam quid Romulo ardentius? tali opus fuit, ut invaderet regnum. Quid Numa religiosius? ita res poposcit, ut ferox populus deorum, metu mitigaretur. Quid ille militiæ artifex Tullus, bellatoribus virisquam necessarius? ut acueret ratione virtutem. Quid edificator Ancus? ut urbem colonia extenderet, ponte jungeret, muro tueretur. Jam vero Tarquini ornamenta & insignia quantam principi populo addide-

**T**HIS is the first Age of the Roman People, and as it were its infancy, which it had under seven Kings, by an industrious Contrivance of the Fates, as various in their Genius's, as the Nature and Use of the Government required. For what was hotter than Romulus? Such an one there was Occasion for, to seize the Government. What more religious than Numa? so the Case required, that this wild People might be softened by the fear of the Gods. What was Tullus, that Artist in the Business of War, how necessary for warlike Men? to whet their Valour by Discretion. What was the Builder Ancus for? to extend the City by a Colony, join the two Parts of it by a Bridge, and secure it by a Wall. But then the Ornaments and Ensigns of Tarquin, how much Dignity did they

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runt ex ipso habitu dignitatem? Actus a Servio census quid effecit, nisi ut ipsa se nosceret respública? Postremo superbi illius importuna dominatio nonnihil, imo vel plurimum profuit. Sic enim effectum est, ut agitatus injuriis populus, cupidi libertatis incenderetur.

*give this great People from their very Dress? The Survey taken by Servius, what did it effect, but the Commonwealth might know itself? At last the tyrannick Government of that Proud King did some Good, nay a great deal: For thus it was brought about, that the People, provoked by his Injuries, were fired with a Desire of Liberty.*

CAP. IX. *De Mutatione Reipublicæ.*

**I**Gitur Bruto Collatinoque ducibus, & auctoribus, quibus ultionem sui moriens matrona mandaverat, populus Romanus ad vindicandum libertatis ac pudicitiae decus, quodam quasi instinctu deorum concitatus, regem repente destituit, bona diripit, agrum Marti suo consecrat, imperium in eodem libertatis suae vindices transfert, mutato tamen & jure, & nomine. Quippe ex perpetuo annum placuit, ex singulari duplex: ne potestas solitudine vel mora corrumpere: *consulesque* appellavit pro regibus, ut consulere se civibus suis debere meminissent. Tantumque libertatis novæ gaudium inceserat, ut vix mutati status fidem caperent; alterumque ex consulibus, tantum ob nomen & genus regium, fascibus abro-

*W*Herefore the Roman People being roused by an Impulse, as it were, of the Gods, to assert the Honour of their Liberty and Chastity, with Brutus and Collatinus for their Leaders and Conductors, to whom the dying Matron had recommended the Revenge of her Cause, on a sudden deserts the King, plunders his Goods, and consecrates his Land to their God Mars, and confers the Government upon the same Asserters of their Liberty, but with the Power and Name altered. For instead of Authority vested in one for Life, that of a Year's Continuance pleased better, instead of one Governor, two, lest the Authority should be abused, either by its being in a single Person, or the long Duration of it; and called them, instead of Kings, Consuls, that they might remember that they were obliged to consult the Good of the Citizens. And so much Joy there was for their new Liberty, that they could scarce believe their Condition was changed; and banished one of the Consuls,

gatis, urbe dimitterent. Itaque substitutus Valerius Publicola, ex summo studio annixus est ad augendam liberi populi majestatem. Nam & fasces ei pro concione submitit, & jus provocationis adversus ipsos dedit. Et ne specie arcis offenderet, eminentes ædes suas in plana submitit. Brutus vero favori civium, etiam domus suæ clade & parricidio velificatus est. Quippe quum studere revocandis in urbem regibus liberos suos comperisset, protraxit in forum, & concione media virgis cecidit, & securi percussit: ut plane publicus parens in locum liberorum adoptasse sibi populum videretur. Liberjam hinc populus Romanus, prima adversos externos arma pro libertate corripuit; mox pro finibus, deinde pro sociis; tum gloria & imperio, laceffentibus assidue usquequaque finitimis: quippe cui patrii soli gleba nulla, sed statim hostile pomœrium, mediusq; inter Latium & Tuscos quasi in quodam bivio collocatus, omnibus portis in hostem incurret: donec quasi contagione quadam per singulos itum est, proximis quibusque correptis, totam Italiam sub se redegerunt.

*taking the Fasces from him, out of the City, only because of his Name and Descent from the Royal Family. Wherefore Valerius Publicola being put in his Room, exerted himself with the utmost Application to increase the Majesty of this free People. For he hath lowered the Fasces to them in an Assembly, and granted them the Right of appealing against the Consuls themselves. And that he might not offend them by the Appearance of a Citadel, he brought down his House that was upon an Eminence into the low Parts of the Town. But Brutus endeavoured to procure the Favour of the Citizens by the Havock of his own Family, and Parricide. For when he understood that his Sons were endeavouring to bring back the Royal Family into the City, he dragged them out into the Forum, and in the Middle of the Assembly lashed them with Rods, and struck off their Heads with an Ax, that indeed he seemed as a publick Parent, to have adopted the People to himself, in the Room of his own Children. And now the Roman People being free, took up Arms first against other Nations for their Freedom; soon after for their Country, after that for their Allies, and then for Glory and Empire, their Neighbours, on all Hands, continually attacking them, as who had no Sod of their own Country Soil, but immediately the very Pomœrium belonged to the Enemy, and being situated in the Middle between Latium and the Tuscans, as it were a Place where two Ways met, ran cut at all their Gates upon the Enemy,*

*till*



*'till as it were by a Sort of Infection they went through them all, and the nearest being first subdued, they reduced all Italy under them.*

C A P. X. *Bellum Etruscum cum rege Porfena.*

**P**ULSIS ex urbe regibus, prima pro libertate arma corripuit. Nam Porfena rex Etruscorum ingentibus copiis aderat, & Tarquinius manu reducebat. Hunc tamen, quamvis & armis, & fame urgeret, occupatoque Janiculo ipsis urbis faucibus incubaret, sustinuit, repulit: novissime etiam tanta admiratione perculit, ut superior ultro cum pene victis amicitiae foedera feriret. Tunc illa Romana prodigia atque miracula, Horatius, Mucius, Clælia: quæ nisi in annalibus forent, hodie fabulæ viderentur. Quippe Horatius Cocles, postquam hostes undiq; instantes solus summovere non poterat, ponte reciso transnatat Tiberim, nec arma dimittit. Mucius Sævola regem per insidias in castris ipsius aggreditur: sed ubi, frustrato circa purpuratum ejus ictu, tenetur, ardentibus focus injicit manum, terroremq; geminat dolo. *Ut scias*, inquit, *quem effugeris, idem trecenti juravimus: quum interim (immane dictu) hic interritus, ille trepi-*

**A***FTER the Royal Family was forced out of the City, they first took up Arms for their Liberty. For Porfena, King of the Tuscans, came with a great Army, and was for restoring the Tarquins by Force. Yet tho' he distressed them both by Arms and by Famine, and seizing the Janiculum, lay in the very Entrance of the Town, they withstood him, repulsed him, and at last struck him with so much Admiration, that though he was superior, he of his own accord concluded a Treaty of Friendship with them almost conquered. Then lived those Roman Prodigies and Miracles, Horatius, Mucius and Clælia, who, unless they were in our Annals, would at this Time appear Fables. For Horatius Cocles by himself, since he was not able to repulse the Enemies pressing on all Hands, upon the Bridge's being cut down, swims the Tiber, and does not part with his Arms. Mucius Scævola attacks the King himself by a Wile in his Camp; but when, upon his Stroke being misemployed upon a Gentleman of his, he was seized, he thrust his Hand into the burning Fire, and doubles the Terror by a Piece of Cunning. That you may know, says he, what a Man you have escaped, three hundred of us have sworn the same Thing. Whilst in the mean Time (it's dreadful to mention) he was undaunted, the other*

daret, tanquam manus regis arderet. Sic quidem viri: sed ne quid sexus a laude cessaret, ecce & virginum virtus. Una ex obsidibus regi data, elapsa custodiam, Clœlia, per patrium flumen equitabat. Et rex quidem tot tantisque virtutum territus monstris, *valere liberosque esse* iussit. Tarquinius tamdiu dimicaverunt, donec Aruntem filium regis manu sua Brutus occidit, superque ipsum mutuo vulnere expiravit; plane quasi adulterum ad inferos usque sequeretur.

*trembled, as if the King's own Hand was burning. Thus indeed the Men behaved. But that the other Sex might not come short in Point of Praise, see the gallant Behaviour of the young Women. One of the Hostages given to the King, Clœlia by Name, rode through her Country River. And the King truly being terrified with so many and so prodigious Monsters of gallant Behaviour, bid them 'em farewell and be free. The Tarquins fought so long, 'till Brutus slew with his own Hand Aruns the King's Son, and expired by a mutual Wound upon him, just as if he would pursue the Adulterer to Hell.*

#### C A P. XI. *Bellum Latinum.*

**L**atini quoque Tarquinos asserebant, æmulatione & invidia: ut populus qui foris dominibatur, saltem domi serviret. Igitur omne Latium, Mamilio Tusculano duce, quasi in regis ultionem, tollit animos. Apud Regilli lacum dimicatur, diu Marte vario, donec Posthumius ipse dictator signum in hostes jaculatus est (novum & insigne commentum) uti peteretur cursu. Cossus equitum magister exuere frænos imperavit (& hoc

**T**HE Latins too maintained the Tarquins' Cause out of Emulation and Envy: That the People who ruled abroad, might however be Slaves at Home. Wherefore, all Latium, under their Leader Mamilius of Tusculum, rouse their Courage as it were for the Revenge of the King's Cause. They fight at the Lake of Regillus, a long Time with various Success, until Posthumius the Dictator threw a Standard amongst the Enemies (a new and notable Contrivance) to be fetched from them by running in amongst them for it. Cossus the Master of the Horse, or-

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novum) quo acrius incur-  
rerent. Ea denique atrocitas fuit prælii, ut interfuisse spectaculo deos fama tradiderit; duos in candidis equis, Castorem atque Pollucem, nemo dubitavit. Itaque & imperator veneratus est, pactusque victoriam templa promisit; & reddidit, plane quasi, stipendium commilitonibus deis. Hactenus pro libertate: mox de finibus cum eisdem Latinis assidue & sine intermissione pugnatum est. Sora (quis credat?) & Algidum terrori fuerunt, Satricum atq; Corniculum provinciarum. De Verulis & Bovillis pudet; sed triumphavimus. Tibur nunc suburbanum, & æstive Præneste deliciae, nuncupatis in Capitolio votis petebantur. Idem tunc Fæsulæ, quod Carræ nuper. Idem nemus Aricinum, quod Hercynius saltus: Fregellæ, quod Gesoriacum: Tiberis, quod Euphrates. Coriolos quoque (pro pudor!) victos, adeo gloriæ fuisse, ut captum oppidum Caius Marcius Coriolanus, quasi Numantiam aut Africam, nomini induerit. Extant & parta de Antio spolia, quæ Mænius in suggestu fori, capta hostium classe, suffixit; si tamen illa

dered them to pull off their Bridles, (this was new too) that they might run upon the Enemy the more violently. Finally, such was the Sharpness of the Engagement, that Fame has delivered it to Posterity, that Gods were present in the Battle. No Body doubted but the two open white Horses were Castor and Pollux. Wherefore both the General worshipped them, and agreeing for the Victory, promised them Temples, and gave them, as it were, Pay to the two Gods his Fellow-Soldiers. Thus far they were engaged for their Liberty. Soon after they were fighting continually and without Intermission, with the same Latins for their Country. Sora (who would believe it?) and Algidum were a Terror, Satricum and Corniculum Provinces. I am ashamed to speak of Verulæ and Bovillæ; but we triumphed. Tibur now in the Suburbs in a Manner, and Præneste a Place of Diversion for the Summer, were then invaded, after Vows had been solemnly put up in the Capitol. Fæsulæ was the same then that Carræ was lately; the Aricine Grove the same with the Hercynian Forest; Fregell with Gesoriacum; Tiber what Euphrates. The Conquest of Corioli was a Matter of so much Honour, (O Shame!) that Caius Marcius Coriolanus added the Town he took to his own Name, as if it had been Numantia or Africa. There are likewise extant Spoils taken from Antium, which Mænius, upon taking the Enemy's Fleet, put up in the Speaking Place of the Forum; if that was indeed a Fleet; for there was only six classis:

classis: nam sex fuere rostratæ. Sed hic numerus illis initis navale bellum fuit. Pervicacissimi tamen Latinorum Æqui & Volsci fuere; & quotidiani, ut ita dixerim, hostes. Sed hos præcipue Lucius Quinctius domuit, ille dictator ab aratro: qui, obsessa ac pene jam capta Marci Minucii Consulis castra, egregia virtute servavit. Medium erat forte tempus sementis, quum patricium virum innixum aratro suo lictor in ipso opere deprehendit. Inde in aciem profectus, ne quid a rustici operis imitatione cessaret, victos more pecudum sub jugum misit. Sic expeditione finita, rediit ad boves rursus triumphalis agricola. Fidem numinum! qua velocitate! intra quindecim dies cœptum, peractumque bellum: prorsus ut festinasse dictator ad relictum opus videretur

*Ships with Rostra. But this Number, in those early Times, was sufficient for a Sea-Fight. Yet the most obstinate of all the Latins were the Æqui and the Volsci, and daily enemies, as I may say. But these Lucius Quinctius chiefly subdued, that Dictator fetched from the Plough, who by his excellent Conduct saved the Camp of M. Minucius the Consul, besieged, and then almost taken. It was by Chance the Middle of Seed-Time, when the Serjeant found the Nobleman, leaning upon his Plough at his Work. From thence marching into the Field, that he might not depart from the Imitation of his Country Work, he put the conquered Enemies, after the Manner of Cattle, under the Yoke. Thus having finished his Expedition, the triumphant Husbandman returned again to his Oxen. O the Faith of Gods! with what Expedition! the War was begun and ended within fifteen Days; so that the Dictator might seem to hasten to the Work he had left.*

C A P. XII. *Bellum cum Etruscis, Faliscis, & Fidenantibus.*

**A**SSIDUI vero & anniversarii hostes ab Etruria Veientes; adeo ut extraordinariam manum adversus eos promiserit, privatumque gesse-

**B**UT the Veientes from Etruria were continual and anniversary Enemies, so that the Family of the Fabii alone promised an extraordinary Army against them, and carried on a War by

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rit bellum gens una Fabiorum. Satis superque idonea clades. Cæsi apud Cremeram trecenti, patricius exercitus, & scelerato signata nomine, quæ proficiscentes in prælium porta dimisit. Sed ea clades ingentibus expiata victoriis, postquam per alios atque alios duces robustissima capta sunt oppida: vario quidem eventu. Falisci se sponte dederunt. Cremati suo igne Fidenates. Rapti funditus deletique Veientes. Falisci quum obsiderentur, mira visa est fides Imperatoris, nec immerito; quod ludimagistrum, urbis proditorem, cum iis quos adduxerat pueris, vinctum sibi ultro remisisset. Eam namque vir sanctus, & sapiens, veram sciebat victoriam, quæ salva fide, & integra dignitate pararetur. Fidenæ, quia pares non erant ferro, ad terrorem movendum facibus armatæ, & discoloribus, serpentum in modum, vitis, furiali more processerant: sed habitus ille ferilis, eversiois omen fuit. Veientium quanta res fuerit, indicat decennis obsidio. Tunc primum hyematum sub pellibus: taxata stipendio hiberna: adactus miles sua sponte iurjurando, ne nisi capta

themselves. The Slaughter was sufficient indeed, and more than so. Three hundred Men were slain at Cremera, an Army of Noble Men, and the Gate that let them through, when they went to Battle, was marked with the Name of Wicked. But that Overthrow was repaired by great Victories, after the strongest Towns were taken by one General or other, but in a different Manner indeed. Falisci surrendered of its own Accord. The Fidenates were burnt in their own Fire. The Veientes were taken and destroy'd utterly. When Falisci was besieged, the Honour of the General appeared wonderful, and not undeservedly; because he sent them back of his own Accord the Schoolmaster, the Betraver of the City, bound, with those boys he had brought with him. For this just and wise Man knew that to be a true Victory, which was got with Honour secure, and Dignity untainted. Fidenæ, because it was not a Match by the Sword, marched out in a frantick Manner, armed with Torches and Ribbands parti-coloured after the Manner of Serpents, to cause a Terror; but that dismal Dress was only an Omen of their ruin. A ten Years' Siege shews how great the State of the Veientians was. Then first did the Roman Soldiers winter under Skins; the Winter-Quarters were supported by a Tax; and the Soldiers were bound by an Oath of their own Accord, not to return 'till the City was taken. The Spoils of King Lars

urbe remearet. Spolia de Larte Tolumnio rege ad Feretrium reportata. Denique non scalis, nec irruptione, sed cuniculo, & subterraneis dolis peractum urbis excidium. Ea denique visa est prædæ magnitudo, cujus decimæ Apollini Pythio mitterentur: universusque populus Romanus ad direptionem urbis vocaretur. Hoc tunc Veii fuere: nunc fuisse quis meminit? quæ reliquæ? quodve vestigium? Laborat annalium fides, ut Veios fuisse credamus.

*Tolumnius were carried to Feretrium. Finally, the Ruin of the City was effected not by ladders, nor breaking into it, but by a Mine, and subterraneous Stratagems. Finally, the Greatness of the Plunder appeared to be such, that the Tithe was sent to the Pythian Apollo; and all the Roman People was sent for to the Plundering of the City. Such was Veii at that Time. Now who remembers that ever it was? What Relicks? What Sign is there of it? The Credit of our Annals is hard put to it, to make us believe that Veii ever was.*

### C A P. XIII. Bellum Gallicum.

**H**IC sive invidia deum, sive fato, rapidissimus procurrentis imperii cursus parumper Gallorum Senonum incursione supprimitur. Quod tempus populo Romano nescio utrum clade funestius fuerit, an virtutum experimentis speciosius. Ea certe fuit vis calamitatis, ut in experimentum illatam putem divinitus, scire volentibus immortalibus diis, an Romana virtus imperium orbis mereretur. Galli Senones, gens natura ferox, moribus incondita, ad hoc ipsa corporum mole, perinde armis ingentibus, adeo

**H**ERE, whether through the Envy of the Gods, or Fate, the most rapid Course of the advancing Empire is a little stopped by the Invasion of the Galli Senones. Which Time I know not whether it was more pernicious to the Roman People for the Loss they sustained, or more glorious in the Trial of their Virtues. Such however was the Violence of the Calamity, that I believe it was brought upon them by divine Providence, the immortal Gods being desirous to know whether the Roman Conduct would deserve the Empire of the World. The Galli Senones were a Nation by Nature wild, unpolished in its Manners, besides so every way terrible for the Bigness of their Bodies, as well  
omni

omni genere terribilis fuit, ut plane nata ad hominum interitum, urbium stragem videretur. Hi quondam ab ultimis terrarum oris, & cingente omnia Oceano, ingenti agmine profecti, quum jam media vastarent, positis inter Alpes & Padum sedibus, ne his quidem contenti, per Italiam vagabantur. Tum Clusium obsidebant. Pro sociis ac fœderatis populus Romanus intervenit, missis ex more legatis. Sed quod jus apud barbaros? Ferocius agunt: exinde certamen. Conversis igitur a Clusio, Romamque venientibus, ad Alliam flumen cum exercitu Fabius consul occurrit. Non temere fœdior clades. Itaque hunc diem fastis Roma damnavit. Fuso exercitu jam mœnibus urbis appropinquabant. Erant nulla præsidia. Tum igitur, aut nunquam alias, apparuit vera illa Romana virtus. Jam primum majores natu, amplissimis usi honoribus, in forum coeunt; ibi devovente Pontifice, diis se manibus consecrant: statimque in suas quisque ædes regressi, sicut in trabeis erant, & amplissimo cultu, in curulibus sellis sese posuerunt: ut quum venisset hostis, in sua dignitate morerentur.

*as vast Arms, that it seemed produced for the Destruction of Men, and the Ruin of Cities. They formerly coming from the utmost Coasts of the Earth, and the Ocean surrounding all Things, with a great Army, after they had wasted all the Countries in their Way, taking up their Habitation betwixt the Alps and the Po, and not content with that, strolled about through Italy. Then they besieged Clusium. The Roman People interposed for their Allies and Confederates, Embassadors being sent according to Fashion. But what Right was to be expected amongst Barbarians? They behave more insolently. After which a Battle followed. Wherefore Fabius the Roman Consul met them being departed from Clusium, and coming for Rome, at the River Allia, with an Army. There hardly ever was a more shameful Defeat. Wherefore Rome condemned this Day in its Calendar After the army was routed, they approached the Walls of the City. There were no Guards. Then therefore, or never, did the true Roman Bravery appear. In the first Place the elder Men, that had borne the greatest Offices, meet together in the Forum. There the High Priest devoting them, they consecrate themselves to the Infernal Gods. And immediately every one returning to their Houses, they placed themselves upon their Ivory Seats, as they were in their Robes and finest Dress, that when the Enemy came, they might die in their Dignity.*

Pontifices & flamines, quicquid religiosissimi in templis erat, partim in doliis defossa terræ recondunt, partim imposita plaustris secum avehunt. Virgines simul ex sacerdotio Vestæ nudo pede fugientia sacra comitantur. Tamen excepisse fugientes unum plebe fertur Lucius Albinus, qui depositis uxore & liberis virgines in plaustrum recepit: adeo tum quoque in ultimis religio publica privatis affectibus antecellebat. Juventus vero, quam satis constat vix mille hominum fuisse, duce Manlio, arcem Capitolini montis insedit, obtestata ipsum quasi præsentem Jovem, *Ut quemadmodum ipsi ad defendendum templum ejus concurrissent, ita ille virtutem eorum numine suo tueretur.* Aderant interim Galli, apertamque Urbem primo trepidi, nequis subesset dolus, mox ubi solitudinem vident, pari clamore & impetu invadunt: patentes passim domos ad-eunt, ubi sedentes in culibus suis prætextatos senes, velut deos Geniosque venerati; mox eosdem, postquam esse homines liquebat, alioqui nihil respondere dignantes, pari vecordia mactant, facessisse tectis injiciunt: & totam urbem igne, ferro, ma-

*The High Priests and Flamens partly hide in the Earth in Hogsheds, and partly carry away with them, laid in Carts, whatsoever was most venerable in their Temples. The Virgins too of the Priesthood of Vesta accompanied the holy Things in the Conveyance barefoot. Yet Lucius Albinus, one of the Commons, is said to have taken them up in their Flight; who setting down his Wife and Children, took the Virgins up into his Chariot. So much too even then in their utmost Extremity did the publick Religion prevail over private Affections. The able-bodied Men, which it is sufficiently certain were scarce a thousand Men, with Manlius for their Leader, possessed themselves of the Top of the Capitoline Mountain, beseeching Jupiter himself, as if there present, That as they had met together to defend his Temple, so he would support their Courage by his divine Power. In the mean Time came the Gauls, and invade the open City, at first under some Fear lest there should be some Stratagem against them, but presently when they find the City forsaken, they fall on with equal Clamour and Violence. They enter the Houses that were every where open, where worshipping the old Gentlemen in their Robes, sitting upon their ivory Seats, as Gods and Genii; after it appeared that they were only Men, otherwise vouchsafing to answer nothing, they kill them with equal Fury, and throw lighted Torches into the Houses, and level the City with Fire and Sword, and their Hands. For six Months the Barbarians (who would believe  
nibus*



L I B E R I.

nibus solo exæquant. Sex mensibus barbari (quis crederet?) circa montem unum pependunt, nec diebus modo, sed noctibus quoque omnia experti: quum tandem Manlius nocte subeuntes, clangore anseris excitatus, a summa rupe dejecit, & ut spem hostibus demeret, quamquam in summa fame, tamen ad speciem fiducia, panes ab arce jaculatus est. Et stato quodam die per medias hostium custodias, Fabium pontificem ab arce demisit, qui solenne sacrum in Quirinali monte conficeret. Atque iste per media hostium tela incolumis religionis auxilio rediit, *propitiosque deos renuntiavit.* Novissime, quum jam obsidio sua barbaros fatigasset, mille pondo auri recessum suum venditantes, idque ipsum per insolentiam, quum ad iniqua pondera addito adhuc gladio, superbæ vae victis increparent, subito aggressus a tergo Camillus adeo cecidit, ut omnia incendiorum vestigia Gallici sanguinis inundatione deleteret. Agere gratias diis immortalibus ipso tantæ cladis nomine libet. Pastororum casus ignis ille, & flamma paupertatem Romuli abscondit. Incendium illud quid egit aliud, nisi ut destinata ho-

*it?) hung about one Mountain, trying all Things not only by Days, but Nights too: When at last Manlius, being wakened by the gabbling of a Goose, threw them, as they were coming up in the Night-time, from the Top of the Rock; and to take away all the Hopes from the Enemy, although they were in the greatest Want, yet to make a Shew of Assurance, he threw down Loaves from the Citadel. And upon a certain stated Day, he sent through the Midst of the Enemies' Guards Fabius the High Priest, from the Citadel, to perform a solemn Sacrifice upon the Quirinal Mount. And he returned safe, by the Protection of his Religion, through the Middle of the Enemys' Weapons, and brought Word that the Gods were propitious. At last, when their Siege had now tired the Barbarians, Camillus suddenly attacking them in their Rear, now offering to depart for a thousand Pound of Gold, and that in an insolent Manner when adding the Sword to unfair Weights, they proudly cry'd out, Woe to the conquered! he so slaughtered them, that he wiped away all the Signs of the Fire by an Inundation of Gallick Blood. I have a Fancy to return Thanks to the immortal Gods upon the very Account of so great a Destruction. That Fire hid the Shepherd's Cottage, and that Flame concealed the Poverty of Romulus. What did that Fire do else, but that the City destined for the Habitation of Men and Gods may not seem to have been destroyed, nor buried in Ruins, but rather purged and purified. Wherefore after the City*

minum

minum ac deorum domicilio civitas, non deleta, non obruta, sed expiata potius, & lustrata videatur? Igitur post assertam a Manlio, restitutam a Camillo urbem, acrius etiam vehementiusque in finitimos resurrexit. Ac primum omnium illam ipsam Gallicam gentem non contentus mœnibus expulisse, quum per Italianam naufragia sua latius traheret, sic persecutus est duce Camillo ut hodie nulla Senonum vestigia supersint. Semel apud Anienem trucidati, quum singulari certamine Manlius aureum torquem barbaro inter spolia detraxit: inde Torquati. Iterum Pomptino agro, quum in simili pugna Lucius Valerius, insidente galeæ sacra alite adjutus, retulit spolia: & inde Corvini. Tandem post aliquot annos, omnes reliquias eorum in Etruria ad lacum Vadimonis Dolabella delevit: ne quis extaret in ea gente, quæ incensam a se Romanam urbem gloriaretur.

had been defended by Manlius, and restored by Camillus, it rose up again more briskly and violently upon its Neighbours. And first of all not being content to drive the Gallic Nation out of their City, whilst they dragged the broken Remains far and wide through Italy, they so closely pursued them under their General Camillus, that at this Day there are no Remains of the Senones. They were once cut off at Anien, when Manlius in a single Combat took a Golden Chain, amongst other Spoils, from a Barbarian: From thence were the Torquati. Again in the Pomptine Territory, when in a like Fight L. Valerius, assisted by a sacred Bird sitting upon his Helmet, brought off the Spoils of his Enemy; and from thence were the Corvini so called. At last, after some Years, Dolabella cut off all the Relicks of them in Etruria, at the Lake of Vadimon; that there might be nobody in that Nation, to boast that the City of Rome had been burned by them.

#### C A P. IV. Bellum Latinum.

CONversus a Gallis in Latinos, Manlio Torquato, Decio Mure consulibus, semper quidem emulatione imperii insectos tum vero contemptu urbis

THE Roman People turn from the Gauls upon the Latins, when Manlius Torquatus and Decius Mus were Consuls, always indeed Enemies for a Rivalry for Dominion, but then so from a incense:

incensæ; quum *ius civitatis*, partim imperii ac magistratuum poscerent, atque jam amplius quam congregari auderent: quo tempore quis cessasse hostem mirabitur? quum alter consulum filium suum, quia contra imperium pugnaverant, quamvis victorem, occiderit, quasi plus imperio esset, quam in victoria: alter quasi monitu deorum, capite velato primam ante aciem diis manibus se devoverit: ut in confertissima se hostium tela jaculatus, novum ad victoriam iter, sanguinis sui semita, aperiret.

*Conceit of the burnt City; demanding the Freedom of the City, a Part of the Government and Offices; and now durst do more than fight: At which Time who will wonder that the Enemy yielded, when one of the Consuls slew his own Son, though victorious, because he had fought contrary to his Order, as tho' there was more in the Observance of Order than Victory. The other, as it were by the Advice of the Gods, with his Head covered, devoted himself, at the Head of the Army, to the Infernal Gods; that throwing himself amongst the thickest of the Enemies' Weapons, he opened a new Way to Victory by the Path of his own Blood.*

C A P. XV. *Bellum Sabinum.*

A Latinis aggressus est gentem Sabinorum, qui immemores factæ sub Tito Tatius affinitatis, quodam contagio belli se Latinis adjuxerant. Sed Curio Dentato consule, omnem eum tractum, qua Nar ambit, fontesque Velini, Adriatico tenus mari, igne ferroque vastavit. Qua victoria, tantum hominum, tantum agrorum redactum in potestatem, ut in utro plus esset, nec ipse posset æstimare qui vicerat.

AFTER the Latins they attacked the Nation of the Sabines, who being unmindful of the Affinity contracted under Titus Tatius, by a Kind of Infection of War had joind themselves to the Latins. But they laid waste all that Tract, where the Nar, and the Springs of Velinus are, with Fire and Sword, by the Consul Curius Dentatus, as far as the Adriatick Sea. By which Victory so many Men, and so much Land was brought under their Power, that he who had made the Conquest, could not compute in which there was most.

C A P. XVI. *Bellum Samniticum.*

**P**RECIBUS deinde Campaniæ motus, non pro se, sed, quod est speciosius, pro lociis, Samnites invadit. Erat foedus cum utrisque percussum. Sed hoc Campani sanctius, & prius, omnium suorum deditioe fecerant. Sic ergo Romanus bellum Samniticum tanquam sibi gessit. Omnium non modo Italia, sed toto Orbe terrarum pulcherrima Campaniæ plaga est. Nihil mollius cælo: denique bis floribus vernat. Nihil uberius solo; ideo Liberi Ceresisque certamen dicitur. Nihil hospitalius mari: hic illi nobiles portus, Caieta, Misenus, & tepentes fontibus Baiæ: Lucrinus & Avernus, quædam maris otia. Hic amictivitis montes, Gaurus, Falernus, Massicus & pulcherrimus omnium Vesuvius, Ætnæi ignis imitator. Urbes ad mare, Formiæ, Cumæ, Puteoli, Neapolis, Herculeanum, Pompeii, & ipsa caput urbium, Capua, quondam inter tres maximas, Romam, Carthaginemque numerata.

**A**FTER that being prevailed upon by the Application of Campania, they invade the Samnites, not for themselves, but, what is more plausible, for their Allies. There had been a League struck up with both People: But the Campanians had rendered their's the more binding, and preferable to the other, by a Surrender of all they had. Thus therefore the Romans carried on the War against the Samnites, as it were for themselves. The Country of Campavia is the finest of all, not only in Italy, but throughout the whole World. Nothing is softer than the Air: It has a double Spring of Flowers. Nothing is more fruitful than the Soil; wherefore it is said to have been Matter of Contest between Bacchus and Ceres. Nothing is more hospitable than the Sea: Here are those noble Harbours, Cajeta, Misenus, and Baiæ with its warm Springs; the Lucrine and Avern Lake, Places of Retirement as it were for the Sea. Here are those Mountains covered with Vines, Gaurus, Falernus, Massicus, and the finest of all Vesuvius, the imitator of Ætna's Fire. The Cities on the Sea are Formiæ, Cumæ, Puteoli, Neapolis, Herculeanum, Pompeis, and Capua the Principal of the Cities, formerly reckoned amongst the three greatest, Rome and Carthage.

Pro hac urbe, his regionibus, populus Romanus Samnites invasit gentem, si opulentiam quæras, aureis & argenteis armis, discolori veste, usque ad ambitum armatam: si fallaciam, saltibus fere & montium fraude grassantem: si rabiem ac furorem, sacratibus legibus, humanisque hostiis in exitium urbis agitatum: si pertinaciam, sexies rupto fœdere, claudibusque ipsis animosiores. Hos tamen quinquaginta annis per Fabios & Papirios patres, eorumque liberos, ita subegit, ac domuit, ut ruinas ipsas urbium diruit, ut hodie Samnium in ipso Samnio requiratur: nec facile appareat materia quatuor & viginti triumphorum. Maxime tamen nota & illustris ex hac gente clades apud Caudinas Ferculas, Veturjo Posthumioque consulibus, accepta est. Clauso enim per insidias intra eum saltum exercitu, unde non posset evadere, stupens occasione tanta dux hostium Pontius, Herennium patrem consuluit; & ille, *Mitteret omnes, vel occideret*, sapienter, ut senior suaserat. His armis exutos mittere sub jugum maluit, ut nec amici forent beneficio, & post flagitium hostes magis. Itaque & consules statim

*The Roman People invaded the Samnites for this City, this Country; a Nation, if you enquire into their Wealth, armed with Gold and Silver Arms, and in party-coloured Cloaths, even to Luxury; If you enquire after their Subtlety, proceeding against an Enemy by means of their Forests, and by Ambuscades in Mountains: If you enquire after their Madness and Fury, pushed on by sacred Laws and human Victims to the Ruin of the City Rome: If you enquire after their Obstinacy, breaking the Treaty six Times, and rendered more courageous by their very Defeats. Yet did they so subdue and conquer them, for fifty Years together, by the Fabii and Papirii, Fathers and Sons, did so demolish the very Ruins of their Cities, that at this Day Samnium is sought for in Samnium itself: Nor does the Matter of four-and-twenty Triumphs easily appear. Yet the most noted and remarkable Defeat from this Nation was received at the Ferculæ, Caudinæ, when Veturius and Posthumius were Consuls. The Army being shut up by a Wile within that Forest, whence they could not get out, Pontius the General of the Enemies, being astonished at so vast an Advantage, consulted his Father Herennius: and he wisely, as an old Man, advised him, either to let them all go, or kill them. He chose rather to make them, stripped of their Arms, pass under the Yoke; so that they were not made Friends by his Kindness, and were more Enemies than before after the Scandal. Wherefore the Consuls too immedi-*

C

magni-

magnifice voluntaria deditione turpitudinem cœderis dirimunt, & ultionem flagitans miles, Papirio duce (horribile dictu!) strictis ensibus per ipsam viam ante pugnam furit: & in congressu arfisse omnium oculos, hostis auctor fuit. Nec prius finis cœdibus datus, quam jugum & hostibus & duci capto reposuerunt.

*ately take off the Disgrace of the Treaty most nobly by a voluntary Surrender of themselves, and the Soldiers impatient for Revenge, under their Leader Papirius, (it's dreadful to say!) raved along their March before the Fight with their drawn Swords; and the Enemy affirmed, that the Eyes of them all were on Fire in the Fight. Nor was there an End put to the Slaughter, before they returned the Yoke both to the Enemies, and their General whom they took.*

C A P. XVII. *Bellum Etruscum & Samniticum.*

**H**Actenus populus Romanus cum singulis gentium: mox acervatim: tamen sic quoque par omnibus. Etruscorum duodecim populi, Umbri in id tempus intacti, antiquissimus Italiæ populus, Samnitium reliqui, in excidium Romani nominis repente conjurant. Erat terror ingens tot simul tantorumque populorum. Late per Etruriam infesta quatuor agminum signa volitabant. Ciminius interim saltus in medio, ante invius, plane quasi Caledonius, vel Hercynius, adeo tunc terrori erat, ut senatus consuli denunciaret, ne tantum periculi ingredi auderet. Sed nihil horum terruit ducem, quin fratre præmissis exploraret

**T**HUS far had the Roman People War with single Nations; but soon after they had to do with them by Heaps; yet so too they were a Match for them all. The twelve Nations of the Etruscans, the Umbrians unmeddled with 'till that Time, the most ancient People of Italy, and the rest of the Samnites, on a sudden confederate together for the Destruction of the Roman Name. The Terror of so many and such considerable Nations was very great. The Standards of four Armies ready for Engagement flew about far and wide through Etruria. In the meantime the Ciminian Forest in their Way, never passed before, just as if it were the Caledonian or Hercynian Forest, was at that Time so much a Terror, that the Senate charged the Consul, that he should not dare to enter on so great a Danger. But none of those Things

accessus. Ille per noctem pastorio habitu speculatus omnia, refert tutum iter. Sic Fabius Maximus periculosissimum bellum sine periculo explicavit. Nam subito inconditos atque palantes aggressus est; captisque superioribus jugis, in subjectos suo jure detonuit. Ea namque species fuit illius belli, quasi in terrigenas e cœlo ac nubibus tela mitterentur. Nec incruenta tamen illa victoria, nam oppressus in sinu vallis alter consulum Decius, more patrio devotum diis manibus obtulit caput; solennemque familiæ suæ consecrationem in victoriæ pretium redegit.

*frightened the General; but sending his Brother before, he examined the Avenues. He viewing all those Parts by Night in a Shepherd's Habit, brings Word that the Passage was safe. Thus Fabius Maximus made an End of a very dangerous War without Danger. For he suddenly attacked them in Disorder, and straggled about; and having possessed himself of the Hills, he thundered down upon them below at his Pleasure: For such was the Appearance of that War, as if Weapons were a throwing upon the Sons of the Earth, from Heaven and the Clouds. Yet the Victory was not obtained without Blood; for one of the Consuls, Decius, being surpris'd in the Hollow of a Valley, offered his Life devoted to the Infernal Gods; after the Manner of his Father; and reduced the Consecration, the solemn Practice of the Family, to a Price of Victory.*

CAP. XVIII. *Bellum Tarentinum, & cum Pyrrho rege.*

SEquitur bellum Tarentinum, unum quidem titulo & nomine: sed victoria multiplex. Hoc enim Campanos, Apulos, atque Lucanos, & caput belli Tarentinos, id est, totam Italiam, & cum istis omnibus Pyrrhum clarissimum Græciæ regem, una veluti ruina pariter involvit: ut eodem tempore & Italiam consummaret, &

**T**HE War with the Tarentines follows, one indeed in Title and Name, but manifold in the Victory. For this involved all together in one Ruin as it were, the Campanians, Apulians, and Lucanians, and the Principals in this War the Tarentines, that is, all Italy, and with all those Pyrrhus, the most famous King of Greece; that they both at the same Time dispatched Italy, and begun their Triumphs over the Nations beyond the Sea. Tarentus was

transmarinos triumphos  
 auspicaretur. Tarentus  
 Lacedæmoniorum opus;  
 Calabriae quondam, & A-  
 puliæ, totiusque Lucaniæ  
 caput, cum magnitudine  
 & muris, portuq; nobilis,  
 tum mirabilis situ: quippe  
 in ipsis Hadriatici maris  
 faucibus posita, in omnes  
 terras, Histriam, Illyri-  
 cum, Epirum, Achaiam,  
 Africam, Siciliam, vela  
 dimittit. Imminet portui  
 ad prospectum maris posi-  
 tum, majus theatrum:  
 quod quidem causa mise-  
 ræ civitati fuit omnium  
 calamitatum. Ludos for-  
 te celebrabant, quum ad-  
 remigantem littori Roma-  
 nam classẽ inde vident  
 atque hostem rati, emicant  
 sine discrimine insultant.  
 Qui enim, aut unde Roma-  
 ni? nec satis: Aderat si-  
 ne mora querelam ferens  
 legatio: hanc quoq; fœde  
 per obscenam turpemque  
 dictu contumeliam vio-  
 lant: ex hinc bellum. Sed  
 apparatus horribilis;  
 quum tot simul populi pro  
 Tarentinis consurgerent,  
 omnibusq; vehementior  
 Pyrrhus: qui semigræcam  
 ex Lacedæmoniis condi-  
 toribus civitatem vindica-  
 turus, cum totius viribus  
 Epiri, Thessaliæ, Mace-  
 doniæ, incognitisq; in id  
 tempus elephantis, mari,  
 terra, viris, equis, armis,  
 addito insuper ferarum

*the Work of the Lacedæmonians  
 formerly the Metropolis of Calabria;  
 and Apulia, and all Lucania, both  
 famous for its Largeness, its Walls,  
 and Harbour, and also wonderful  
 for its Situation: For being placed  
 in the very Entrance of the Adri-  
 atic Sea, it sends Ships into all  
 Countries, Istria, Illyricum, E-  
 pire, Achaia, Africa, Sicily. A  
 large Theatre is close by the Har-  
 bour situated in View of the Sea,  
 which was indeed the Cause of all  
 the Calamities that befel the poor  
 City. By chance they were cele-  
 brating Games, when they spy from  
 thence the Roman Fleet rowing up  
 to the Shore; and thinking them  
 an Enemy, they run out and insult  
 them without making any Differe-  
 nce. For who or whence were  
 the Romans? Nor was that  
 enough. An Embassy came with-  
 out Delay, bringing a Complaint:  
 They abuse that too filthily by a  
 nasty affront not fit to be menti-  
 oned: From this ensued a War.  
 But the Preparations were terrible,  
 when so many People all together  
 rose up for the Tarentines, and Pyr-  
 rhus more violent than them all;  
 who came with the Strength of all  
 Epire, Thessaly, Macedonia, and  
 Elephants unknown to that Time,  
 by Sea, by Land, with Men, Horses,  
 Arms, the Terror of wild Beasts  
 added over and above, to protect  
 this City that was half Greek from  
 its Founders the Lacedæmonians.  
 The first Battle was at Heraclea,  
 and Liris a River of Campania,  
 fought by the Consul Lævinus,  
 which was so desperate, that Obsi-  
 dius, a Commander of the Ferentan  
 terrore,*



terrore, veniebat. Apud Heracleam, & Campaniæ fluvium Lirini, Levino consule, prima pugna: quæ tam atrox fuit, ut Ferentanæ turmæ præfectus Obsidius invec-tus in regem, turbaverit, coegeritque projectis insignibus prælio excedere. Actum erat, nisi elephantum conversi in spectaculum belli procurris-sent: quorum cum magnitudine tum deformitate, & novo odore simul ac stridore consternati equi, cum incognitas sibi belluas amplias quam erant suspicarentur, fugam stragemque late dederunt. In Apulia deinde apud Asculum melius dimicatum est, Curio Fabricioque consulibus: jam quippe belluarum terror exoleverat, & Caius Minucius quartæ legionis hastatus, unius proboscide abscissa, mori posse belluas ostenderat. Itaque & in ipsas pila congesta sunt, & in turres vibratæ faces tota hostium agmina ardentibus ruinis operuere: nec ante cladi finis fuit quam nox dirimeret; postremusque fugientium ipse rex a satellitibus humero saucius in armis suis referretur. Lucaniæ suprema pugna sub Arusinis, quos vocant, campis ducibus iisdem qui superius: sed tunc tota victoria. Exitum, quem

*Trasp, riding at the King, put him into Disorder, and forced him to throw away the Badges of his Dignity, and quit the Battle. He had been undone, but that the Elephants turning advanced into the Front of the Battle; with whose Greatness and Deformity, as likewise strange Smell and Noise, the Horses being frighted, whilst they suspected the Beasts, till then unknown to them, to be greater than they were, they occasioned far and wide Flight and terrible Havock. They afterwards fought better in Apulia at Asculum, under Curius and Fabricius the Consuls. For now the Terror of the wild Beasts was worn off, and Caius Minucius, a Spearman of the fourth Legion, cutting off the Trunk of one of them, let them see that the Beasts could die. Upon that their Lances were discharged together upon them, and Torches thrown into the Towers, covered whole Troops of the Enemy with burning Ruins. Nor was there an End of the Slaughter, before Night parted them. And the King himself being the last of the Fliers, was carried by his Guards, wounded in his Shoulders, into the Camp, upon his Arms. The last Battle was in Lucania, nigh the Arusine Plains, as they call them, under the same Generals as before: But then the Victory was complete. Chance occasioned the Issue, which their Valour would have produced. For the Elephants being brought again into the Front, a terrible Stroke of the Weapon run into the Head, made one of them turn*

datura virtus fuit, casus dedit. Nam productis in primam aciem rursus elephantis unum ex his pulum adacti in caput teli gravis ictus avertit; qui quum per stragem suorum percurrrens, fridore quereretur, mater agnovit, & quasi vindicaret, exiit: tum omnia circa, quasi hostilia, gravi mole permiscuit. Ac sic eadem feræ, quæ primam victoriam abstulerant, secundam parem fecerant, tertiam sine controversia tradidere.

Nec vero tantum armis & in campis, sed consiliis quoque & domi intra urbem cum rege Pyrrho dimicatum est. Quippe post primam victoriam rex callidus, intellecta virtute Romana, statim desperavit armis: seque ad dolos contulit. Nam interemptos cremavit: captivosque indulgenter habuit, & sine pretio restituit. Misitque deinde legatis in urbem, omni modo annixus est, ut facto fœdere in amicitiam reciperetur. Sed bello & pace, foris & domi, omnem in partem Romana virtus tum se approbavit: nec alicuius magis, quam Tarentina victoria ostendit populi Romani fortitudinem, senatus sapientiam, ducum magnanimitatem. Quinam illi fuerunt viri, quos ab elephantis primo prælio ob-

tail, that was a young one; which running and whining with much Noise through the demollished Heaps of its own Party, its Dam knew it, and leaped out, as if she would take its Part. Upon which she confounded all around her, as if they had been the Enemies' Troops, with her unweildy Bulk. And thus the same wild Beasts, which had taken the first Victory from the Romans, and had made the second equal, delivered the third without Dispute.

Nor did they only engage with King Pyrrhus by Arms, and in the Field, but by Consuls too, and at home within the City. For the cunning King, after the first Victory, understanding the Roman Courage, immediately despaired of Success by his Arms, and betook himself to Wiles. For he burnt those that were slain, and treated the Prisoners kindly, and restored them without Ransom. And then sending Embassadors to the City, he endeavoured by all Means to be received into Amity by the concluding of a Treaty. But at that Time the Roman Conduet recommended itself every Way, in War and in Peace, Abroad and at Home. Nor did any other Conquest more than that over the Tarentines shew the Gallantry of the Roman People, the Wisdom of their Senate, and the Magnanimity of their Generals. What Men were those, who we are told were trod under Foot by the Elephants in the first Battle? All their Wounds were in their Breast.

tritos accepimus? omnium vulnera in pectore: quidam hostibus suis immortui: omnium in manibus enses: & relictæ in vultibus minæ: & in ipsa morte ira vivebat. Quod adeo Pyrrhus miratus est, ut diceret, *O quam facile erat orbis imperium occupare, aut mihi Romanis militibus, aut me rege Romanis!* Quæ autem eorum, qui superfuerunt, in reparando exercitu festinatio? quum Pyrrhus, *Video me, inquit, plane Herculis fidere procreatum, cui, quasi ab angue Lernæo, tot cæsa hostium capita sanguine suo renascuntur.* Qui autem ille senatus fuit? quum perorante Appio Cæco, pulsi cum muneribus suis ab urbe legati, interroganti regi suo, quid de hostium sede sentirent, *Urbem templum sibi visam, senatum regum confessum esse, confiterentur.* Qui porro ipsi duces? vel in castris? quum medicum venale regis Pyrrhi caput offerentem, Curius remisit: Fabricius oblatam sibi a rege imperii partem repudiavit: vel in pace? quum Curius fistilia sua Samnitico præferet auro; Fabricius decem pondo argenti circa Rufinum consularem virum, quasi luxuriam, Censorea gravitate damnaret.

*Some were dead upon their Enemies: Their Swords were in all their Hands, and Threats left in all their Countenances; and their Anger lived in Death itself. Which Pyrrhus so wondered at, that he said, O how easy were it to seize the Empire of the World, either for me with Roman Soldiers, or for the Romans with me for their King! And what was the Expedition of those who were left, in recruiting the Army? When Pyrrhus said, I see plainly that I was born under the Star of Hercules, against whom, as from the Lernæan Snake, so many Heads of the Enemy that were cut off, arise out of their own Blood. And what was the Senate? when upon Appius Cæcus's haranguing the Senate, the Embassadors being turned out of the City, with their Presents, confessed to their King asking them, what they thought of the Enemy's City, That the City seemed to them a Temple, and the Senate was an Assembly of Kings. What were the Generals too in the Camp? When Curius sent back the Physician that offered the Life of King Pyrrhus to Sale: Fabricius refused a Part of his Kingdom offered him by the King. Or in Peace? When Curius preferred his Earthen Ware before the Gold of the Samnites: Fabricius with the Gravity of a Censor condemned ten Pounds of Plate about Rufinus, a Consular Gentleman, as Luxury.*

Quis ergo miretur his moribus virtute militum victorem populum Romanum fuisse? unoque bello Tarentino intra quadriennium maximam partem Italiæ, fortissimas gentes, opulentissimas urbes, uberrimasque regiones in ditionem redeigisse? Aut quid adeo fidem superet; quam si principia belli cum exitu conferantur? Victor primo prælio Pyrrhus; tota tremente Italia, Campaniam, Lirim, Fregellasque populatus, prope captam urbem a Prænestina arce prospexit: & a vicesimo lapide, oculos trepidæ civitatis fumo ac pulvere implevit. Eodem postea bis exuto castris, bis faucio, & in Græciam suam trans mare ac terras fugato, pax & quies; & tanta adeo de opulentissimis tot gentibus spolia, ut victoriam suam Roma non caperet. Nec enim temere ullus pulchrior in urbem, aut speciosior triumphos intravit. Ante hunc diem nihil, nisi pecora Volscorum, greges Sabinorum, carpenta Gallorum, fracta Samnitum arma vidisses: tum si captivos aspiceres; Molossii, Thessali, Macedones, Brutii, Apuli, atque Lucani: si pompas; aurum, purpura, signa, tabulæ, Taren-

*Who therefore would wonder that the Roman People, with these Manners, and Bravery in their Soldiers, were victorious? And that in one War of the Tarentines, within four Years' Time they brought under their Subjection the greatest Part of Italy, the stoutest Nations, the most opulent Cities, and the most fruitful Countries? Or what can so much exceed Credit, if the Beginning of the War be compared with the End of it? Pyrrhus being victorious in the first Battle, wasting, whilst all Italy quaked, Campania, Liris, and Fregellæ, took a View of the City, well nigh being taken, from the Castle of Præneste, and filled the Eyes of the trembling City with Smoak and Dust, at the Distance of twenty Miles. The same Prince being twice afterwards beat out of his Camp, twice wounded, and driven beyond Sea and Land into his own Country Greece, there was Peace and Quietness, and such Abundance of Spoil taken from those very rich Nations, that Rome could not contain its own Victory: For hardly ever did a finer or more glorious Triumph enter the City. Before this Time you could have seen nothing but the Cattle of the Volsci, the Flocks of the Sabines, the Chariots of the Gauls, or the broken Arms of the Samnites: Then if you had looked upon the Prisoners, they were Molossians, Thessalians, Macedonians, Brutians, Apulians, and Lucanians. If upon the Pomp, there was Gold, Scarlet Robes, Statues, Pictures, and all the fine Things of Tarentum.*

tinæque

tinæque deliciæ. Sed nihil libentius populus Romanus aspexit, quam illas quas timuerat, cum turribus suis belluas: quæ non sine sensu captivitatis, summissis cervicibus, victores equos sequebantur.

*But the Roman People looked at nothing more willingly than those Beasts with their Towers, which they had dreaded, which not without a Sense of their captivity followed the victorious Horses, with their necks hanging down.*

C A P. XIX. *Bellum Picenum.*

**O**Mnis mox Italia pacem habuit. Qui enim post Tarentum audent? nisi quod ultro persequi socios hostium placuit. Domiti ergo Picentes, & caput gentes Asculum, Sempronio duce: qui tremente inter prælium campo, Tellurem deam, promissa æde, placavit.

**S**OON after all Italy had Peace. For who would dare to attempt any Thing after Tarentum? But that it was thought proper without more ado to fall upon the Allies of their Enemies. Wherefore the Picentes were conquered, and Asculum the Capital of the Nation, by the General Sempronius, who, upon the Ground's shaking during the Battle, appeased the Goddess Earth, by promising her a Temple.

C A P. XX. *Bellum Sallentinum.*

**S**allentini Picentibus additi caputque regionis Brundisium cum inclyto portu, Marco Atilio duce. Et in hoc certamine, victoriæ pretium templum sibi pastoris Pales ultro poposcit.

**T**HE Salentinians were added to the Picentes, and Brundisium the Metropolis of the Country, with its famous Harbour, by the General M. Atilius. And in this Contest, Pales, the Goddess of Shepherds, did of her own proper Motion demand a Temple as the Price of the Victory.

CAP. XXI. *Bellum Volscinense.*

POSTremo Italicorum in fide manserè Volscini, opulentissimi Etruscòrum, implorantes opem adversus servos quondam suos: qui libertatem a dominis datam in ipsos e-rexerant: translataque in se republica, dominabantur. Sed hi quoque, duce Fabio Gurgite, pœnas dederunt.

THE Volscians came last of all the Italians under the Subjection of the Romans, the richest of all the Etruscans, begging their Help against such as had been formerly their Slaves: Who had turned their Liberty given them by their Masters, against those very Masters; and taking the Government upon themselves, lorded it over them. But these too were punished by the General Fabius Gurges.

CAP. XX. *De Seditiõibus.*

HÆC est secunda ætas populi Romani, & quasi adolescentia; qua maxime viruit, & quodam flore virtutis exarsit, ac fervuit. Ita quæ inerant quædam adhuc ex pastoribus feritas, quiddam spirabat indomitum. Inde est quod exercitus Posthumium Imperatorem, inficiantem quas promiserat prædas, facta in castris seditione lapidavit: quod sub Appio Claudio noluit vincere hostem, quum posset: quod duce Volerone, detractantibus plerisque militiam, fracti consulis fasces: inde, quod clarissimos principes, quum adversarentur voluntati suæ, exultatione

THIS is the second Age of the Roman People, and as it were its Advance towards Manhood; in which it was very flourishing, and was heated and enflamed with the Flower of Gallantry. The Rudeness derived from the Shepherds their Ancestors, which was still in them, discovered something of an invincible Spirit. Thence it is, that the Army making a Mutiny in the Camp, stoned their General Posthumius, for denying them the Plunder which he had promised them; that under Appius Claudius they would not conquer, when they might; that most of the People, with Volerone at the Head of them, refusing the Service, the Consul's Fasces were broke. Thence too, that they punished with Banishment the most famous amongst their great Men,

multa-

multavit: ut Coriolanum colere agros jubentem; nec minus ille ferociter injuriam armis vindicasset, nisi quod jam inferentem signa filium mater Veturia lachrynis suis exarmavit: ut ipsum Camillum inter plebem & exercitum divisisse Veientem prædam videretur. Sed hic melior obsessis, in capta urbe consenuit: & mox supplices de hoste Gallo vindicavit. Cum Senatu quoque vehementius æquo bonoque certamen est; adeo ut relictis sedibus solitudinem & interritum patriæ suæ minaretur.

*when they opposed their Pleasure: As Coriolanus bidding them till the Grounds. Nor would he less desperately have revenged the Injury by Arms, but that his Mother Veturia disarmed him, bringing on his Standards, by her Tears: As Camillus himself, because he seemed to have divided the Plunder of Veii unfairly betwixt the common People and the Army. But he being better than the other, lived to be old in the City after it was taken; and soon after revenged them suppliant upon their Enemies the Gauls. There was a Contest with the Senate too, more warmly carried on, than was just and reasonable; insomuch that leaving their Habitations, they threatened Devastation and Ruin to their Country.*

## C A P. XXIII.

**P**RIMA discordia ob impotentiam sceneratorum: quibus in terga quoque serviliter sævientibus, in sacrum montem plebs armata secessit: ægreque, nec nisi Tribunos impetrasset, Menenii Agrippæ facundi & sapientis viri auctoritate, revocata est. Extat orationis antiquæ satis efficax ad concordiam fabula, qua Dissedisse inter se quondam humanos dixit artus, quod omnibus opere fugentibus, solum venter immunis ageret: deinde moribundos a

**T**HE first publick Difference was upon account of the Cruelty of the Usurers, who discharging their Fury upon the Backs of their Debtors as if they were Slaves, the common People withdrew armed into the sacred Mount; and was with Difficulty got back again, and not 'till they obtained Tribunes, by the Authority of Menenius Agrippa, an eloquent and a wise Man. There is extant a Fable in old Language, proper enough for the promoting of Concord; in which he said, That the Limbs of a human Body were formerly at Variance among themselves, because whilst all the rest

*sejunctione*

*sejunctione rediisse in gratiam, quando sensissent, quod ejus opera redactis in sanguinem cibus irrigarentur.*

minded their Work, the Belly alone was idle. At last when ready to die, they came out of this Disagreement to a right Understanding, when they found that they were fed by the Victuals, which were by its Means reduced to Blood.

## C A P. XXIV.

SECUNDAM in urbe media decemviratus libido conflagavit. Allatas a Græcia leges, decem principes lecti, jubente populo, conscripserant: ordinataque erat in duodecem tabulis tota justitia; quum tamen traditos fascēs regio quodam furore retinebant. Ante cæteros Appius eo insolentiæ elatus est, ut ingenuam virginem stupro destinaret, oblitus & Lucretiæ, & regum, & juris quod ipse composuerat. Itaq; quum oppressam judicio filiam trahi servitutem videret Virginius pater, nihil cunctatus, in medio foro manu sua interfecit: admotisque signis commilitonum, totam eam dominationem obsessam armis, in carcerem & catenas ab Aventino monte detraxit.

THE Lust of the Decemvirate occasioned a second Broil in the Middle of the City. Ten of the chief Men of the City being chosen for the Purpose, by the Order of the People, had drawn up some Laws, which were brought from Greece; and all the Branches of Justice had been digested into twelve Tables; though yet they kept the Fasces that had been delivered to them with the Madness of Kings. Above the rest, Appius was carried out to that Insolence, that he designed a young Gentlewoman for the Gratification of his Lust, forgetting both Lucretia and Tarquin's Family, and the Law which he himself had compiled. Whereupon, when her Father Virginius saw his Daughter cast in a Tryal for the Purpose, dragged away for a State of Slavery, without any demurring on the Matter, he killed her with his own Hand in the Middle of the Forum. And bringing up the Standards of his Fellow-Soldiers, he drew down that whole Company of Tyrants by Force of Arms, from the Aventine Mountain into Gaol and Chains.



## C A P. XVI.

**T**ertiam seditionem excitavit matrimonio- rum dignitas; ut plebeii cum patriciis jungerentur: qui tumultus in monte Janiculo, duce Canuleio Tribuno plebis, exarsit.

*T H E Dignity of Marriages raised a third Sedition, that the Commons might inter-marry with the Patricians: Which Disorder first broke out in the Mount Janiculum, Canuleius, Tribune of the Commons, being the Ringleader therein.*

## C A P. XXVI.

**Q**uartam honorum cupido, ut plebeii quoque magistratus crearentur. Fabius Ambustus duarum pater, alteram Sulpicio patricii sanguinis dederat; alteram plebeio Stolori. Hæc quodam tempore, quod lictoriæ virgæ sonum ignotum suis insolenter irrita, injuriam non tulit. Itaque nactus tribunatum, honorum & magistratuum consortium quamvis invito senatui extorsit. Verum in his ipsis seditionibus principem populum non immerito suspexeris. Siquidem nunc libertatem, nunc pudicitiam, tum natalium dignitatem honorem decora & insignia vindicavit: interque hæc omnia, nullius acrior custos, quam libertatis fuit: nulla; in pretium ejus potuit largitione corrumpi;

*A Desire of publick Post of Honour occasioned a fourth, that the Commons might be made Magistrates. Fabius Ambustus, the Father of two Daughters, had given one to Sulpicius of a Patrician Family, and another to one Stolo a Commoner. This Gentlewoman being once insolently enough laughed at by her Sister, because she was affrighted at the Noise of the Serjeant's Staff, which was not known in her House, could not bear the Affront. Wherefore her Husband procuring the Tribuneship, got from the Senate, tho' much against their Wills, a Share for the Commons in the Honours and publick Offices. But in these very Seditions, you may not undeservedly admire this great People: For one while they stood up to assert their Liberty, another while their Chastity, then the Dignity of their Birth, and the Ornaments and Badges of Honour; and, during all these Things, was of nothing a more zealous Guardian, than of the publick Liberty; and could by no Bribery*  
quum

quum ut in magno, & in dies majore populo, interim perniciosi cives existerent. Spurium Cassium, agraria lege; Mælium, largitione suspectum regis dominationis, præfenti morte multavit; ac de Spurio quidem supplicium pater ipsius sumpsit; hunc Quinctii dictatoris imperio, in medio foro magister equitum Servilius Ahala confodit. Manlium vero Capitolii vindicem, quia plerosque debitorum liberaverat, altius se & incivilius efferentem, ab illa quam defenderat arce dejecit. Talis domi ac foris; talis pace bellogue populus Romanus, fretum illud adolescentiæ, id est, secundam imperii ætatem habuit; in qua totum inter Alpes fretumque Italiam armis subegit.

*be corrupted to the Sale of it; tho' in the mean while there appeared Citizens of very pernicious intentions, as must needs be in a great people, and that was every day growing greater. They punished with present Death Spurius Cassius, suspected of aiming at the Sovereignty, by the Agrarian Bill; and Mælius, suspected of the same, for his extravagant Generosity to the People. His own Father took Vengeance of Spurius. The other, Servilius Ahala, Master of the Horse, stabbed by the Order of Quintius the Dictator in the Middle of the Forum. They threw Manlius, the Defender of the Capitol, carrying himself too highly above the Rank of a Citizen, because he had discharged a great many Debtors out of Gaol, from that very Citadel which he had defended. Such was the People of Rome at home and abroad; such in Peace and War, when they passed that Sea of Youth, the second Age of the Empire; in which they subdued all Italy between the Alps and the Sea, by their Arms.*



## LIBER II.

CAP. I. *Præmium.*

**D**Omita subactaq; Italia, Populus Romanus prope quingentesimum annum agens, quum bona fide adoleviffet; fi quod est robur, fi qua juvenas: tum ille vere robustus, & juvenis, & par orbi terrarum esse cœpit. Ita (mirum, & incredibile dictu) qui prope quingentis annis domi luctatus est (adeo difficile fuerat dare Italix caput) his ducentis annis, qui fequuntur, Africam, Europam, Afiam, totum denique orbem terrarum bellis victoriisque peragravit.

**A**FTER Italy was conquered and subdued, the Roman People now going upon their Five Hundredth Year, being now in good earnest grown up to a State of Manhood, for if there be any fuch Thing as Strength and Manhood, then it begun really to be strong and manly, and a Match for the whole World. Accordingly (it is strange and incredible to be faid) how they struggled with their Neighbours at home for almost five hundred Years (fo difficult it was to give a Head to Italy) in these two hundred Years, that follow, over-ran Africa, Europe, Asia, and finally all the World, with their Wars and Victories.

CAP. II. *Primum Bellum Punicum.*

**I**GITUR victor Italix populus, quum a terra fretum usque veniffet, more ignis, qui obvias populatus incendio

**W**Herefore the Roman People, now Conqueror of Italy, being come by Land as far as the Sea, after the Manner of Fire, which having burnt down some  
sylvas,

fylvas interveniente flumine abruptitur, paulisper substitit. Mox quum videret opulentissimam in proximo prædam, quodammodo Italiæ suæ abscissam, & quasi revulsam; adeo cupiditate ejus exarsit, ut quatenus nec mole jungi, nec pontibus posset, armis belloq; jungenda, & ad continentem suum revocanda bello videretur. Sed ecce ultro ipsis viam pandentibus factis, nec occasio defuit: quum de Pœnorum impotentia, fœderata Sciliæ civitas Messina quereretur. Affectabat autem ut Romanus, ita Pœnus Scilicium; & eorum tempore, pariter uterque votis ac viribus, imperium orbis agitabat. Igitur specie quidem socios juvandi, re autem sollicitante præda; quanquam territaret novitas rei (tanta tamen in virtute fiducia est) ille rudis, ille pastorius populus; vèrequè terrester, ostendit nihil interesse virtutis, equis an navibus, terra an mari dimicaretur. Appio Claudio consule, primum ingressus est, fabulosis infame monstris, æstuque violentum: sed adeo non est exterritus, ut illam ipsam ruentis æstus violentiam pro munere amplecteretur: statimque ac

*Woods in its Way, is stopped by a River intervening, stood still a little. Soon after, upon seeing a rich Booty in the Neighbourhood cut off in a Manner, and torn away as it were from their Italy, they were so enflamed with a Desire of it, that seeing it could not be joined by any Mole, or Bridges, it was thought proper it should be joined by Arms, and fetched back again by a War to the Continent. But behold the Fates themselves opening a Way, they wanted not an Opportunity; Messina, a confederate City of Sicily, complained of the Tyranny of the Carthaginians. Now as the Romans coveted Sicily, so likewise did the Carthaginians; and both at the same Time, with equal Wishes and Strength, pushed for the Empire of the World. Wherefore under the Pretence indeed of assisting their Allies, but in reality the Booty tempting them; although the Strangeness of the Thing terrified them, (yet so much Assurance is there in true Courage) that ignorant People, that People of Shepherds, and indeed only acquainted with the Land, let the World see that to true Bravery there was no Difference, whether a Battle was fought on Horseback, or in Ships, by Land, or by Sea. When Appianus Claudius was Consul, they first entered the Faro; infamous for strange Things related of it in old Stories, and of a violent Current. But they were so far from being affrighted, that they embraced the very Violence of the rushing Current as a Favour; and*  
*finè*

fine mora Hieronem Syracusanum regem tanta celeritate visit, ut ille ipse se prius victum, quam hostem videret, fateretur. Duillio Cornelioque consulibus, etiam mari congre-  
 gri ausus est. Tum quidem ipsa velocitas classis comparata, auspici-  
 um fuit. Intra enim sexagesimum diem quam caesa sylvam fuerat, centum sexaginta navium classis in anchoris stetit; ut non arte facta, sed quodam munere deorum conversae in naves, atque mutatae arbores viderentur. Praelii vero forma mirabilis: quum illas celeres volucresque hostium naves haec graves tardaeque comprehenderent. Longe illis nauticae artes, detergere remos, & ludificari fuga rostra. Iniectae etiam ferreae manus, machinaeque aliae ante certamen multum ab hoste derisae: coactique hostes quasi in solido decernerent. Victor ergo apud Liparas, mersa & fugata hostium classe, primum illum maritimum egit triumphum. Cujus quod gaudium fuit? quum Duillius imperator, non contentus unius diei triumpho, per vitam omnem, ubi a coena rediret, praelucere funalia, praecinere sibi tibias iussit, quasi quotidie triumpharet.

*immediately and without Delay defeated Hiero, King of Syracuse, with so much Expedition, that he confessed he was conquered before he saw the Enemy. When Duillius and Cornelius were Consuls, they ventured likewise to engage by Sea. Then too the Expedition in fitting out the Fleet was an Omen of the Victory. For a Fleet of an hundred and sixty Sail of Ships lay at Anchor within sixty Days after the Wood was cut; that they did not seem to be made by Art, but the Trees seemed turned and changed into Ships, by the Favour of the Gods. And the Manner of the Battle was wonderful, when these slow and heavy Ships of the Romans, seized those swift and nimble ones of the Enemy. Their Sea-faring Arts, such as wiping away the Oars of a Ship, and baulking the Enemy's Rostra by suddenly slipping away, were far from doing them any Service; for the Iron Grapples, and other Engines, much laughed at by the Enemy before the Fight, were thrown into their Ships, and the Enemies obliged to fight as it were upon solid Ground. Wherefore being victorious at Liparæ, by sinking and routing the Enemies' Fleet, they acted their first Triumph for a Victory by Sea. For which how great was the Joy? When Duillius the Admiral, not satisfied with the Triumph of one Day, ordered all his Life after, as oft as he returned from Supper abroad, Torches to be lighted up, and Flutes to play before him, as if he would triumph every Day.*

Præ tanta victoria leve hujus prælii damnum fuit. Alter consulum interceptus Afina Cornelius; qui simulato colloquio evocatus, atque ita oppressus fuit; perfidiæ Punicæ documentum. Calatino Dictatore, fere omnia præsidia Pœnorum, Agrigento, Drepanis, Panormo, Eryce, Lilybæo detraxit. Trepidatum est semel circa Camerinenfium saltum: sed eximia virtute Calpurnii Flammæ tribuni militum evasimus, qui lecta trecentorum manu, infestum & infestum ab hostibus tumultum occupavit, adeoque moratus hostem, dum exercitus omnis evaderet: ac sic pulcherrimo exitu, Thermopylarum & Leonidæ famam adæquavit: hoc illustrior noster, quod expeditioni tantæ superfluit & supervixit, licet nihil scripserit sanguine. Lucio Cornelio Scipione, quum jam Sicilia suburbana esset populi Romani provincia, serpente latius bello, in Sardiniam annexamque Corsicam transit: Olbæ hic, ibi Alerix urbisexcidio incolas terruit; adeoque omnes, terra, mari, Pœnos, expugnavit, ut jam victoriæ nihil nisi Africa ipsa restaret. Marco Attilio Regulo duce jam in Africam

*The Loss of this Battle was but slight, considering the Greatness of the Victory. One of the Consuls Cornelius Afina was trepanned, who was invited out upon Pretence of a Conference, and so snapped; a Proof of the Carthaginian Treachery. When Calatinus was Dictator, they dislodged almost all the Garrisons of the Carthaginians from Agrigentum, Drepana, Panormus, Eryx, Lilybæum. There was once a great Consternation in the Roman Army, about the Forest of the Camerinsians: But we escaped by the extraordinary Bravery of Calpurnius Flamma, a Tribune of the Soldiers, who with a choice Body of three hundred Men seized upon a Hill that was possessed by the Enemy, and so kept the Enemy employed, 'till all the Army got off: And so by a most glorious Event, equalled the Fame of Thermopylæ and Leonidas: But our Countryman was so much the more illustrious, that he survived and outlived so grand an Exploit, though he writ nothing in Blood. In the Consulship of L. Cornelius Scipio, when now Sicily was a suburbana Province of the Roman People, the War spreading further, they go over into Sardinia, and Corsica that is near it. In this they terrified the Natives by the Destruction of Olbia, and in the other by that of the City of Aleria; and so mauled all the Carthaginians, by Land and by Sea, that now nothing remained for Conquest, but Africa itself. The War sailed over into Africa, under the Com-*  
na

navigabat bellum. Nec deerant, qui ipso Punici maris nomine ac terrore deficerent, augente insuper Tribuno Mannio metum: in quem, nisi paruisset, securi districta, imperator metu mortis navigandi fecit audaciam. Mox ventis remisque properatum est: tantusque terror hostici adventus Pœnis fuit, ut apertis pene portis Carthago caperetur.

Prima belli præmium fuit civitas Clypea: prima enim a Punico littore quasi arx & specula procurrit. Et hæc, & trecenta amplius castella vastata sunt. Nec cum hominibus, sed cum monstris quoque dimicatum est, quum quasi in vindictam Africæ nata, miræ magnitudinis serpens, posita apud Baggadam castra vexaret. Sed omnium victor Regulus quum terrorem nominis sui late circumtulisset; quumque magnam vim juventutis, ducesque ipsos, aut cecidisset, aut haberet in vinculis: classemque ingenti præda onustam, & triumpho gravem, in urbem præmisisset; jam ipsam belli caput Carthaginem urgebat obsidio, ipsisque portis inhærebat. Hic paululum circumacta for-

mander *M. Attilius Regulus*. Nor were there wanting some that mutinied at the very Name and Dread of the Carthaginian Sea; the Tribune *Mannius* too increasing the Fright: By drawing the Ax against whom, unless he would be obedient to Orders, the General by the Terror of Death raised in them Courage enough for sailing. Presently after they hasted away with Winds and Oars: And so great was the Consternation of the Carthaginians upon their Arrival, that Carthage was well nigh being taken with the Gates open.

The City *Clypea* was the first Reward of the War; for it jets out from the Carthaginian Shore, as a Castle, or a Watch Tower. Both that and three hundred Castles besides were destroyed. Nor did the Romans engage with Men only, but Monsters too, seeing a Serpent of a wonderful Bigness, produced as it were for the Delivery of Africa, harrassed the Camp pitched at *Baggada*. But *Regulus* victorious over all, after he had widely spread the Terror of his Name, and either slain, or had in Chains vast Numbers of their Men, and their Generals themselves; and had sent before his Fleet to the City, loaded with Abundance of Spoil, and heavy with the Materials of a Triumph; distressed by Siege the Head of the War, Carthage itself, and lay close at the very Gates of it. Here Fortune was turned about a little, only that there might be more remarkable Instances of the Roman Bravery, the Greatness of which is common-

tuna est, tantum, ut plura essent Romanæ virtutis insignia: cujus fere magnitudo calamitatibus approbatur. Nam conversis ad externa auxilia hostibus; quum Xanthippum illis ducem Lacedæmon misisset, a viro militiæ peritissimo vincimur. Tum sæda clade, Romanisque usu incognita, vivus in manus hostium venit fortissimus imperator. Sed ille quidem par tantæ calamitati fuit. Nam nec Punico carcere infractus est; nec legatione suscepta: quippe diversa, quam hostes mandaverant, censuit; ne pax fieret, ne commutatio captivorum reciperetur. Sed nec illo voluntario ad hostes suos reditu, nec ultimo, sive carceris, sive crucis supplicio deformata majestas. Imo his omnibus admirabilior, quid aliud quam victus de victoribus, atque etiam quia Carthago non cesserat, de fortuna triumphavit?

Populus autem Romanus multo acrior infestiorque pro ultione Reguli, quam pro victoria fuit. Metello igitur consule spirantibus altius Pœnis, & reverso in Siciliam bello, apud Panormum sic hostes cecidit, ut nec amplius eam insulam cogitarent. Argumentum in-

*ly best made appear by Misfortunes. For the Enemy applying for foreign Assistance, and Lacedæmon having sent them Xanthippus for their General, we are defeated by that same Man excellently well skilled in the Business of War. Then by an ignominious Defeat, and unknown to the Romans by Experience, our most gallant Commander came alive into the Enemy's Hands. But he was equal to so great a Calamity. For he was not dispirited by his Imprisonment at Carthage, nor by the Errand he undertook to Rome. For he advised Things quite contrary to what the Enemy had given him in Charge, i. e. That no Peace should be made, nor the proposed Exchange of Prisoners complied with. But the majestick Dignity of the Man was neither defaced by his voluntary Return to his Enemies, nor by the heavy Punishment either of a Sail or a Cross. Nay, being rendered by all these Things the more admirable, what did he else but triumph, tho' conquered, over his Conquerors, and even over Fortune herself, because Carthage had not yielded to his Arms?*

*But the Roman People were much more vigorous and keen for the Revenge of Regulus, than for the Victory. Wherefore when Metellus was Consul, the Carthaginians carrying it very highly, and the War being removed into Sicily, they so mauled the Enemy at Panormus, that they thought no more of that Island. A Proof of this great Victory was the Taking of*  
gentis



gentis victoriæ, centum circiter elephantorum captivitas: sic quoque magna præda: si gregem illum non bello, sed venatione cepisset. Appio Claudio consule, non ab hostibus, sed a diis ipsis superatus est, quorum auspicia contempserat; ibi statim classe demersa, ubi ille præcipitari pullos iusserat quod pugnare ab his vetaretur. Marco Fabio Buteone consule classem hostium in Africo mari apud Ægimurum, jam in Italiam ultro navigantem cecidit. Quantus O! tunc triumphus tempestate intercidit, quum opulenta præda classis, adversis acta ventis, naufragio suo Africam & Syrtes; omnium imperia gentium; insularum littora implevit! Magna clades! sed non sine aliqua principis populi dignitate; interceptam tempestate victoriam, & triumphum perierunt naufragio: & tamen quum Punicæ prædæ omnibus promontoriis, insulisque frustrarentur & fluitarent, populus Romanus triumphavit. Lutatio Catulo consule tandem bello finis impositus, apud insulas, quibus nomen Ægates. Nec major alias in mari pugna; quippe com meatibus, exercitu, propugnaculis, armis gravis

*about an hundred Elephants; a considerable Booty, if they had taken that Number not in Fight, but Hunting. When Appius Claudius was Consul, the Roman People was conquered, not by the Enemies, but by the Gods themselves, whose Auspices they had despised; the Fleet being immediately sunk there, where he had ordered the Chickens to be thrown over-board; because he was forbid by them to fight. When M. Fabius Buteo was Consul, they mauled the Fleet of the Enemy, in the African Sea, at Ægimurum, which was now sailing very briskly for Italy. O what a vast Triumph was then lost in a Storm, when the Fleet, loaded with Plunder; driven by contrary Winds, filled with its Wreck Africa and the Syrtes, the Coasts of all Nations, and the Shores of the Islands! A mighty Loss! But not without some Honour redounding from thence to this noble People, that the Fruits of their Victory had been intercepted only by a Storm, and the Matter of a Triumph lost by a wreck of their Fleet. And yet, as the Punick Spoils were parcelled out and floated upon all the Promontories and Islands, the Roman People did even by that Means triumph. When Lutatius Catulus was Consul, at last an End was put to the War at the Islands whose Name is Ægates. Nor was there ever at any other Time a greater Fight at Sea, for the Enemies' Fleet was loaded with Provisions, Troops, Turrets, Arms, and in a Manner all Carthage was in it, which very Thing*

stium classis, & in ea quasi tota Carthago: quod ipsum exitio fuit. Romana classis prompta, levis, expedita, & quodam genere castrensis: ad similitudinem pugnæ equestris, sic remis, quasi habenis agebatur: & in hos vel in illos mobilia rostra, speciem viventium præferabant. Itaque momento temporis laceratæ hostium rates, totum inter Siciliam Sardiniamq; pelagus naufragio suo operuerunt. Tanta denique fuit illa victoria, ut de excidendis hostium mœnibus non quæreretur. Supervacuum visum est, arcem murosque sævire, quum jam in mari esset deleta Carthago.

*was the Ruin of it. The Roman Fleet was nimble, light, free from all Incumbrance, and in a Manner like a Camp; and with some Resemblance of an Engagement betwixt Horse, was turned hither and thither with Oars as it were Reins; and the Rostra, moving first against one, and then another presented an Appearance of living Creatures. Wherefore in a Moment of Time, the Enemies' Ships were torn in Pieces, and covered the whole Sea, betwixt Sicily and Sardinia with their Wreck. Finally, so great was that Victory, that there was no Thought of destroying the Enemies' City. It seemed needless to pour out their Fury upon a Citadel and Walls, where Carthage had been already destroyed at Sea.*

## C A P. III.

*Bellum Ligusticum.*

**P**ERACTO Punico bello, sequuta est brevis fames, & quasi ad recipiendum spiritum requies: argumentumque pacis, & bona fide cessantium armorum, tunc primum post Numam clausa porta Jani fuit: sed statim ac sine mora patuit. Quippe jam Ligures, jam Insubres Galli, nec non & Illyrii laceiebant. Sic de sub Alpibus, id est, de sub ipsius Italix faucibus, gentes, deo quodam assi-

**A**FTER the Carthaginian War was ended, there followed indeed a Rest, but short, and as it were only to take Breath. And the Gate of the Temple of Janus, which was then for the first Time shut since Numa, was an Argument of a Peace, and of War's ceasing in good Earnest: But it was immediately and without Delay open again. For one while the Ligurians, and another the Insubres Galli, as likewise the Illyrians attacked the Romans. Thus the Nations under the Alps, that is, in the very Entrance of  
duc

due incitante, ne rubiginem ac situm scilicet arma sentirent: denique utriusque quotidiani, & quasi domestici hostes tirocinia militum imbuebant: nec aliter utraque gente quam quasi cote quadam, populus Romanus ferrum suæ acuebat virtutis. Ligures imis Alpium jugis adhærentes inter Varum & Macram flumen, implicitosque dumis sylvestribus, major aliquanto labor erat invenire quam vincere. Tuti locis, & fuga, durum atque velox genus, ex occasione magis latrocinia, quam bella faciebat. Itaque quum diu multumque eluderent Salyi, Deceates, Oxybii, Euburiates, Ingauni, tandem Fulvius latebras eorum ignibus sepsit: Bæbius in plana deduxit: Posthumius ita exarmavit, ut vix reliquerit ferrum quo terra coleretur.

*Italy, some God pushing them continually forward, that the Roman Arms might not contract Rust or Mould, did in short, as daily and domestic Enemies, exercise the young Soldiery in the Business of War. Nor did the Roman People whet the Sword of their Valour upon each Nation any otherwise than as it were upon a Whetstone. There was somewhat more of Trouble to find, than to conquer the Ligurians, who lived close by the Bottom of the Alps, between the River Varus and Macra, and were barricadoed up within their Woods. Being secured by their Situation and Flight together, and being a hardy nimble-footed Sort of People, they rather committed Robberies on Occasion, than made War. Wherefore, after the Saliy, Deceates, Oxybii, Euburiates and Ingauni had for a long Time, and to a great Degree, baffled all the Attempts of the Romans upon them, at last Fulvius surrounded the Places of their Concealment with Fire: Bæbius brought them down into the Lowlands: Posthumius so disarmed them, that he scarce left them Iron sufficient wherewith to till the Ground.*

C A P. IV. *Bellum Gallicum.*

**G**ALLIS Insubribus, & his accolis Alpium, animi ferarum, corpora plusquam humana erant: sed experimento deprehensum est, quippe sicut primus impetus eis major

**T**HE Galli Insubres, and the other Borderers upon the Alps, had the Tempers of savage Beasts, and Bodies more than human: But by Experience it was found, that as their first Onset was more violent than that of Men, so their

quam virorum est, ita sequens minor quam foeminarum. Alpina corpora humenti cœlo educata habent quiddam simile cum nivibus suis: quæ mox ut caluere pugna, statim in sudorum eunt; & levi motu, quasi sole, laxantur. Hi sæpe & alias, sed Britomaro duce, non prius soluturos se baltea, quam capitulum ascendissent, juraverant. Factum est: victos enim Æmilius in capitolio discinxit. Mox Ariovisto duce vovere de nostrorum militum præda Marti suo torquem. Intercepit Jupiter votum: nam de torquibus eorum aureum trophæum Jovi Flaminius erexit. Viridomaro rege Romana arma Vulcano promiserant; aliorum vota ceciderunt: occiso enim rege, Marcellus tertio post Romulum patrem Feretrio Jovi arma suspendit.

*following Behaviour in Battle was inferior to that of Women. The Bodies of those about the Alps, being educated in a moist Air, have something like their Snows, which as soon as they are heated in Fight, presently run into Sweat, and are relaxed by any slight Motion, as it were with the Sun. These had often at other Times sworn, but especially under their General Britomarus, That they would not lose their Belts, before they mounted the Capitol. And it happened according. For Æmilius conquered, and disarmed them in the Capitol. Soon after, with Ariovistus for their Leader, they vowed to their God Mars a Chain made out of the Spoils of our Soldiers. But Jupiter intercepted their Vow: For Flaminius erected a Golden Trophy to Jove out of their Chains. When Viridomarus was their King, they promised the Roman Arms to Vulcan: But their Vows turned quite otherwise; for Marcellus killing their King, hung up the third Arms of the King called Spolia Opima, after Romulus, to Jupiter Feretrius.*

#### CAP. V. Bellum Illyricum.

**I**llyrii, seu Liburni, sub extremis Alpium radicibus agunt, inter Arsiam, Titiumque flumen, longissime per totum Adriani maris littus effusi. Hi regnante Teutana muliere populationibus non contenti, licentiæ scelus

**T**HE Illyrians, or Liburnians, live at the very Bottom of the Alps, betwixt Arsia and the River Titium, being spread far and wide all along the Coast of the Adriatic Sea. These in the Reign of Teutana a Woman, not content with ravaging the Roman Territory, added horrid Villainy.

addiderunt. Legatos quippe nostros, ob ea quæ deliquerant, jure agentes, nec gladio quidem, sed ut victimas, securi percussunt: præfectos navium igni comburunt; idque quo indignius foret, mulier imperabat. Itaque Cnæo Fulvio Centimalo duce, late domantur. Strictæ in principum colla secures legatorum manibus litavere.

*to their extravagant Excess, that Way. For they behead our Embassadors treating with them in a fair Way about the Crimes they had committed, not with the Sword truly, but, like Victims, with the Axe, and burn the Commanders of our Ships with Fire; and this, that the Matter might be the more contemptuous, a Woman ordered to be done, Wherefore they are every where subdued by the Commander Cnæus Fulvius Centimalus; and the Hatchets, drawn upon the Necks of their Chiefs, made an Atonement to the Ghosts of our Embassadors.*

C A P. VI *Bellum Punicum secundum.*

**P**OST primum Punicum bellum vix quadriennii requies; ecce alterum bellum: minus quidem spatio (nec enim amplius quam decem & octo annos habet) sed adeo cladium atrocitate terribilius, ut si quis conferat damna utriusque populi, similior victo sit populus qui vicit. Urebat nobilem populum ablatum mare, captæ insulæ, dare tributa, quæ jubere consueverat. In ultionem puer Annibal ad aram patri juraverat: nec morabatur. Igitur in causam belli Saguntus delecta est; vetus Hispaniæ civitas & opulenta, fideique erga Romanos

**A**FTER the first Carthaginian War, there was scarce a Rest of four Years, and then there was another War; less indeed for Length of Time, (for it took up but eighteen Years) but so much more terrible, for the Dreadfulness of the Havock thereof, that if any one compares the Losses of both People, that People was more like conquered than did conquer. What nettled this noble People was, the Command of the Sea forced from them, the taking of their Islands, and the giving of Tribute, which they had been used to raise before. Annibal, tho' but a Boy, swore to his Father before an Altar, for the Revenge of this; nor was he backward in the Matter. Wherefore Saguntus was pitched upon for the  
mag-

magnum quidem sed triste monumentum: quam in libertatem communi fœdere exceptam, Annibal causas novorum motuum quærens, & suis, & ipsorum manibus evertit, ut Italiam sibi rupto fœdere aperiret.

¶ Summa fœderum Romanis religio est: itaque ad auditum sociæ civitatis obsidium, memores icti cum Pœnis quoque fœderis, non statim ad arma procurrent, dum prius more legitimo queri malunt. Interim jam novem mensibus fessi fame, machinis, ferro, versa denique in rabiem fide, immanem in foro excitant rogam: tum desuper se suosque cum omnibus opibus suis ferro & igni corrumpunt. Hujus tantæ cladis auctor Annibal poscitur. Tergiversantibus Pœnis, dux legationis, *Quæ, inquit, mora est?* Fabius. *In hoc ego sinu bellum pacemque porto: utrum eligitis?* Succlamantibus, *Bellum.* *Bellum igitur, inquit, accipite: & excusso in mediam curiam togæ gremio, non sine horrore, quasi plane sinu bellum ferret, effudit.*

*Occasion of a War, being an old and wealthy City of Spain, a great, but a sad, Monument of Faithfulness to the Romans: Which tho' excepted for the Enjoyment of their Liberty, by a common Treaty. Annibal seeking Pretences for new Disturbances; ruined by his own Hands, and their's together, that he might open Italy for himself, by breaking of the Treaty.*

*The Romans have the utmost Regard to Treaties: Wherefore upon hearing of the Siege of this City in Alliance with them, being mindful of the Treaty concluded too with the Carthaginians, they do not immediately run to Arms; but chuse in the first Place to complain in a fair Way. In the mean time, the Sanguntines being wearied out for nine Months together with Hunger, Machines of War, and the Sword, their Faith being at last changed into Rage, they raise a mighty Pile in the Forum; and then destroy themselves and their's, with all their Riches, by Fire and Sword. Annibal, the Occasion of this great Destruction, is demanded. The Carthaginians refusing to comply, the Head of the Embassy, Fabius, says, What is the Meaning of Delay? In this Lap I bring you both Peace and War: Which do you chuse? Upon their crying out War; Take ye War then, says he: And shaking out the Lap of his Coat, in the Middle of the Senate-house, as if he had really bore War in his Lap, he poured it out, not without the Dread of the By-standers.*

Similis exitus belli initio fuit: nam quasi has inferias sibi Saguntinorum ultimæ diræ in illo publico parricidio incendioque mandassent: ita manibus eorum, vastatione Italiæ, captivitate Africæ, ducum & regum, qui id gessere bellum, exitio parentatum est. Igitur ubi semel se in Hispania movit illa gravis & luctuosa Punici belli vis atque tempestas; destinatumque Romanis jam diu fulmen, Saguntino igne conflagavit: statim quodam impetu rapta, medias perfregit Alpes; & in Italiam ab illis fabulosæ altitudinis nivibus, velut cœlo missa, descendit. Ac primi quidem impetus turbo inter Padum & Ticinum valido statim frangore detonuit. Tunc Scipione duce fusus exercitus. Sæpius etiam ipse venisset in manus hostium imperator, nisi protectum patrem pretextatus admodum filius ab ipsa morte rapuisset. Hic erat Scipio, qui in exitium Africæ crevit, nomen ex malis ejus habiturus.

*The Sequel of the War was answerable to the Beginning. For as if the last Curses of the Saguntines in that public Destruction of themselves, and firing of their City, had ordered those Offerings to be made them; so accordingly was an Atonement made to their Ghosts by the Wasling of Italy, the Reduction of Africa, and the Destruction of Kings and Generals, who managed that War. Wherefore as soon as that heavy and tragical Violence and Storm of the Carthaginian War, bestirred itself in Spain, and forged the Thunder, which had been long designed for the Romans, in the Fire of Saguntum; immediately being hurried along with great Fury, it broke through the Middle of the Alps, and came down into Italy, from those Snows of fabulous Height, as if it had been thrown from Heaven. And the Hurricane of the first Onset in this War, thundered down immediately with a mighty Noise, betwixt the Po and Ticinum. Then the Army, under the Commander Scipio, was routed. The General too, being wounded, would have come into the Hands of his Enemies, had not his Son, but a Boy, covered his father with his Shield, and delivered him from Death. This was the Scipio who grew up for the Ruin of Africa, who was to receive a Name from the Calamities thereof.*

Ticino Trebia succedit: hic secunda belli

*Trebia succeeds Ticinum. Here the second Storm of the Carthaginian*

Punici procella defævit, Sempronio consule: tunc callidissimi hostes frigidum & nivalem nacti diem, quum se ignibus prius oleoque fovissent (horribile dictu) homines a meridie & sole venientes nostra nos hyeme vicerunt. Trasimenus lacus tertium fulmen Annibalis; imperatore Flaminio: ibi quoque ars nova Punicæ fraudis: quippe nebula lacus, palustribusque virgultis tectus eques, terga subito pugnantium invasit. Nec de diis possumus queri: imminentem quippe temerario duci cladem prædixerant insidentia signis examina, & aquilæ prodire nolentes, & commissam aciem sequutus ingens terræ tremor: nisi illum horrorem soli, equitum virorumque discursus, & mota vehementius arma fecerunt: Quartum, id est, pene ultimum vulnus imperii Cannæ; ignobilis Apuliæ vicus: sed magnitudine cladis emerfit: & quadraginta millium cæde parta nobilitas.

Ibi in exitium infelicis exercitus, dux, terra, cælum, dies, tota denique

*ginian Fury was spent, Sempronius being Consul. Then the crafty Enemy having got a cold and snowy Day, after they had warmed themselves well with good Fires and Oil (it is dreadful to speak of) though Men that came from the South and a warm Sun, they conquered us by the Means of our own Winter. The Trasimene Lake was the third Thunder of Annibal, when Flaminius was Commander of the Roman Army. There too was employed a new Stratagem of the Carthaginian Subtlety. For the Horse being covered by a Fog arising from the Lake, and some Brush-wood growing in the Fens, suddenly fell upon the Rear of the Romans as they were fighting. Nor can we complain of the Gods. For Swarms of Bees settling upon the Standards, had foretold the Overthrow that was coming upon the rash General, as did likewise the Eagles that were unwilling to move; and a great Earthquake that followed the beginning of the Fight, unless the running up and down of Horse and Foot, and Arms moved with Violence, occasioned that shaking of the Ground. Cannæ, an obscure Town of Apulia, was the fourth, and well nigh a fatal Wound to the Roman Empire. But the Town became famous by the Greatness of this Defeat, and its Name was acquired by the Slaughter of forty thousand Men.*

*There the General, the Earth, Heaven, the Day, and finally universal Nature conspired together*

*rerum*



rerum natura consensit. Siquidem non contentus simulatis transfugis Annibal, qui mox terga pugnantium ceciderunt, insuper callidissimus imperator, patentibus in Campis, observato loci ingenio, quod & sol ibi acerrimus, & plurimus pulvis & Euris ab Oriente semper quasi ad constitutum, ita instruxit aciem, ut Romanis adversus hæc omnia obversis, quasi secundum cælum tenens, vento, pulvere, sole pugnaret. Itaque duo maximi exercitus cæsi ad hostium satietatem, donec Annibal diceret militi suo, *Parce ferro.*

Ducum effugit alter, alter occisus est: dubium uter majore animo. Paulum puduit. Varro non desperavit. Documenta cladis, cruentus aliquandiu Aufidus; pons de cadaveribus, jussu ducis factus in torrente Vergelli; modii duo annulorum Carthaginem missi, dignitasque equestris taxata mensura. Dubium deinde non erat, quin ultimum illum diem habitura fuerit Roma, quintumque intra diem epulari Annibal in Capitolio potuerit, si (quod Pœnium illum dixisse Adherbalem Bomilcaris fe-

*ther for the Destruction of the unfortunate Army. For Annibal not satisfied with counterfeit Deserters, who fell upon the Rear of the Romans as they were fighting, like a most cunning General, having observed the Nature of the Place in those wide Plains, because the Sun was very hot, and the Dust very great, and the Wind called Euris, blowing constantly, and as it were stately from the East, he so drew up his Army, that the Romans being turned against all these, having Heaven as it were on his Side, he fought with the Wind, the Dust, and the Sun for him. Wherefore two very great Armies were slaughtered even to the Glut of the Enemies, till Annibal said to his Soldiers, Forbear the Sword.*

*One of the Commanders escaped, the other was slain: It is doubtful whether of them with the greater Courage. Paulus was ashamed to survive that Day. Varro did not despair. Aufidus that was bloody for some time, and a Bridge made of Carcases, by the General's Order, over the Brook of Vergellus; two Modii of Rings sent to Carthage, and the equestrian Dignity estimated by Measure, were Proofs of the Greatness of the Havock. It was then not doubted, but Rome would have had that for it's last Day, and that Annibal might have feasted in five Days in the Capitol, if (as they report the Carthaginian Adherbal, the Son of Bomilcar, said) Annibal had*  
runt)

runt) *Annibal quemadmodum sciret vincere, sic uti victoria scisset.* Tum quidem illum, ut dici vulgo solêt, aut fatum urbis imperaturæ, aut ipsius mens mala, & a-versi a Carthagine dii, in diversum abstulerunt. Quum victoria possêt uti, frui maluit, relicta-que Roma, Campaniam Tarentumque peragrare: ubi mox & ipse, & exercitus ardor elanguit: adeo ut verum dictum sit; *Capuam Annibali Cannas fuisse.* Siquidem invictum Alpis, indomitum armis, Campaniæ (quis crederet?) solês, & tepentes fontibus Baiæ, subegerunt. Interim respirare Romanus, & quasi ab inferis emergere. Arma non erant; detracta sunt templis: deerat juventus; in sacramentum militiæ liberata servitia: egebat ararium; opes suas libens senatus in medium protulit; nec præter quod in bullis, cingulis atque annulis erat, quicquam sibi auri reliquere. Eques sequutus exemplum, imitataeque equitem tribus: denique vix scribarum manus, Lævino Marcelloque consulibus, quum privatæ opes in publicum deferrentur.

known how to use his Victory, as he knew how to conquer. Then, as it is commonly wont to be said, either the Fate of the City that was to rule the World, or his own wrong Sense of Things, and the Gods alienated from Carthage, carried him another Way. When he might have made use of his Victory, he chose rather to enjoy it; and leaving Rome, to traverse Campania and Tarentum: Where both he, and the Heat of his Army declined much; so that it was truly said, That Capua was Cannæ to Annibal. For the Sun-shine of Campania (who would believe it?) and Baiæ with its warm Springs subdued him that was not conquered by the Alps, nor to be defeated by Arms. In the mean time, the Romans begun to take Breath, and arise as it were from Hell. They had no Arms; they were taken from the Temples. Men were wanting; Slaves were set at Liberty to list in the Service. The Treasury was empty; the Senate willingly brought out their Riches into the Public; nor did they leave themselves any Gold, besides what was in their Children's Ornaments, Belts, and Rings. The Equestrian Order followed the Example, and the Tribes imitated the Equestrian Order. At last scarce were the Tables, scarce the Hands of the Scribes sufficient, in the Year of the Consuls Lævina and Marcellus, when the Wealth of private Persons was brought into the Public.

Quid autem in deli-  
gendis magistratibus, quæ  
centuriarum sapientia,  
quum juniores a senio-  
ribus consilium de cre-  
andis consulibus petive-  
re? Quippe adversus  
hostem toties victorem,  
tam callidum, non vir-  
tute tantum, sed suis eti-  
am pugnare consiliis o-  
portebat. Prima rede-  
untis, & ut sic dixerim,  
reviviscentis imperii spes  
Fabius fuit: qui novam  
de Annibale victoriam  
commentus est, non pug-  
nare. Hinc illi cognomen  
novum, & reipublicæ sal-  
utare, *Cunctator*. Hinc  
illud ex populo, ut *Im-  
perii scutum* vocaretur.  
Itaque per Samnium to-  
tum, per Falernos Gau-  
ronosque saltus sic mace-  
ravit Annibalem, ut qui  
frangi virtute non pote-  
rat, mora comminuere-  
tur. Inde Claudio Mar-  
cello duce etiam congre-  
di ausus est. Cominus  
venit, & pepulit e Cam-  
pania sua, & ab obsidione  
Nolæ urbis excussit. Au-  
sus & Sempronio Graccho  
duce per Lucaniam sequi  
& premere terga cedentis:  
quamvis tunc (O pudor!)  
manu servili pugnaret.  
Nam huc usque tot mala  
compulerant: sed liber-  
tati donati, fecerant de  
servitute Romanos.

*And then in the Choice of  
Magistrates, what was the Wis-  
dom of the Centuries, when the  
younger Men desired Advice of  
the elder about the making of  
Consuls? For it behoved them to  
fight against an Enemy so often  
victorious, and so crafty, not only  
with Courage, but with his own  
Measures. Fabius was the first  
Hope of the returning, and, as I  
may so say, reviving Empire; who  
invented a new Way of Victory  
over Annibal, which was to de-  
cline fighting. Hence he had a  
new Surname, that proved to the  
Security of the Commonwealth,  
Cunctator. Hence was it, that  
he was called by the People, The  
Shield of the Empire. Wherefore  
he so galled Annibal through all  
Samnium, through the Falernian  
and the Gauranian Forests, that  
he who could not be conquered by  
Valour, was weakened by this de-  
clining of Battle. After that,  
under their Leader Claudius Mar-  
cellus, they ventured to engage.  
They came to close Fight with him,  
and drove him out of his Campania,  
and forced him from the Siege of  
the City Nola. They ventured like-  
wise, under their Commander Sem-  
pronius Gracchus, to pursue him  
through Lucania, and fall upon  
his Rear as he retired, although  
they then fought him (O Shame!)  
with a Body of Slaves. For to  
this had so many Misfortunes dri-  
ven them; but they had of Slaves  
made Romans of them, by giving  
them their Liberty.*

O horribilem in tot adversis fiduciam! O singularem animum ac spiritum populi Romani! tam arctis afflictisque rebus, quum de Italia sua dubitaret, ausus est tamen in diversa respicere, quumque hostes in jugulo per Campaniam Apuliamque volitarent, mediamque de Italia Africam facerent; eodem tempore & hunc sustinebat, & in Siciliam, Sardiniam, Hispaniam, divisa per terrarum orbem arma mittebat. Sicilia mandata Marcello, nec diu restitit. Tota enim insula in una urbe superata est. Grande illud, & ante id tempus, invictum caput Syracusæ, quamvis Archimedis ingenio defenderentur, aliquando cesserunt. Longe illi triplex murus, totidemque arces, portus ille marmoreus, & fons celebratus Arethusæ: nisi quod hætenus profuere, ut pulchritudini victæ urbis parceretur. Sardiniam Gracchus arripuit: nihil illi gentium feritas, insanorumque (nam sic vocantur) immanitas montium profuere. Sæviturum in urbes, urbemque urbium Caralim, ut gens contumax, vilisque mortis, saltem desiderio patrii soli domaretur,

*O dreadful Assurance in the midst of so much Adversity! O the singular Courage and Spirit of the Roman People! in such dismal and distressed Circumstances, whilst they were in a Doubt about the Keeping of Italy, yet they ventured to look into different Parts, and whilst the Enemies flew over their Throats through Campania and Apulia, and made of Italy the Middle of Africa; at the same Time they both withstood him, and sent their Arms, dispersed through the World, into Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain: Sicily was committed to Marcellus, and did not long hold out. For the whole Island was conquered in one City. That great, and 'till that Time unconquered, Capital of the Island Syracuse, altho' it was defended by the Genius Archimedes, at last yielded. Its triple Wall, and as many Citadels; its Marble Harbour, and the celebrated Fountain of Arethusa, were far from securing it; but that they so far availed, that a favourable Regard was shewn to the Beauty of the vanquished City. Gracchus mastered Sardinia. The Savageness of the People, and the Vastness of the mad Mountains (for so they are called) availed it nothing. Great Severity was executed upon the Cities, and the City of Cities Caralis, that this obstinate Nation, regardless of Death, might be subdued at least by a Fondness for their Country Soil.*

In Hispaniam missi Cnæus & Publius Scipiones, pæne totam Pœnis eripuerant: sed insidiis Punicæ fraudis oppressi rursus amiserunt, magnis quidem illi præliis, quum Punicas opes cecidissent: sed Punicæ insidiæ alterum ferro castra metantem, alterum, quum evasisset in turrim, cinctum facibus oppresserunt. Igitur in ultionem patris ac patrui missus cum exercitu Scipio, cui tam grande de Africa nomen fata decreverant, bellatricem illam viris armisque nobilem Hispaniam, illam seminariam hostilis exercitus, illam Annibalis eruditricem, (incredibile dictu) totam a Pyrenæis montibus in Herculis columnas & Oceanum recuperavit: nescias citius, an felicius: quam velociter, quatuor anni fatentur: quam facile, vel una civitas probat: eodem quippe, quo obsessa est, die capta est: omenque Africanæ victoriæ fuit, quod tam facile victa est Hispania Carthago. Certum est tamen, ad profligandam provinciam maxime profecisse singularem ducis sanctitatem: quippe qui captivos pueros, puellasque præcipue pulchritudinis, barbaris

*The two Scipio's, Cnæus and Publius, being sent into Spain, had almost taken it all from the Carthaginians; but being surprized by a Stratagem of the Carthaginian Craft, they lost it all again, after they had slaughtered the Carthaginian Armies in mighty Battles. But the Carthaginian Wiles took off one of them by the Sword, as he was pitching his Camp, and the other being encompassed with lighted Faggots, after he had made his Escape into a Tower. Wherefore Scipio being sent with an Army for the Revenge of his Father and Uncle, for whom the Fates had decreed so great a Name from Africa, recovered that warlike Province, of Spain, famous for Men and Arms; that Seminary of the Enemy's Army, that Mistress of Annibal, (it's incredible to be said) entirely from the Pyrenæan Mountains to the Pillars of Hercules and the Ocean; you cannot tell whether sooner, or more easily: How soon four Years declare; how easily even one City proves. For it was taken the same Day it was besieged; and it was an Omen of the Conquest of Africa, that Carthage in Spain was so easily reduced. It's certain, however, that the singular Virtue of the General contributed very much to the Conquest of the Province, as who restored to the Barbarians the Boys and Girls of extraordinary Beauty that were his Prisoners, not suffering them so much as to be brought into his Sight, that he might not seem to have*

restituerit, ne in conspectum quidem suum passus adduci, nequid de virginitatis integritate delibasse saltem oculis videretur. Hæc inter diversa terrarum populus Romanus: nec ideo tamen Italiæ visceribus inhærentem summovere poterat Annibalem. Pleaque ad hostem defecerant: & dux acerrimus contra Romanos Italicis quoque viribus utebatur. Jam tamen eum plerisque oppidis & regionibus excusseramus. Tarentus ad nos redierat: jam & Capua sedes & domus, & patria altera Annibalis, tenebatur: cujus amissio tantum Pœno duci dolorem dedit, ut inde totis viribus Romam converteretur. O populum dignum orbis imperio! dignum omnium favore, & admiratione hominum ac deorum! Compulsus ad ultimos metus, ab incepto non destitit, & de sua urbe sollicitus, Capuam tamen non omisit: sed parte exercitus sub Appio consule relicta, parte Flaccum in urbem sequuta, absens simul, præsensque pugnabat. Quid ergo miramur, moventi castra a tertio lapide Annibali, iterum ipsos Deos, Deos inquam, (nec fateri

detracted from the Integrity of their Virginity by his Eyes. These Things the Roman People performed in different Parts of the World, but yet for all that could not get rid of Annibal, who stuck close in the Bowels of Italy. Most Places had revolted to the Enemy; and this most vigorous Commander, made use of the Strength of Italy against the Romans. However we had now dislodged him from most of the Towns and Quarters of Italy. Tarentus had returned to us. And now too Capua, the Seat and Home, and another Country of Annibal, was in our Hands. The Loss of which gave so sensible an Affliction to the Carthaginian General, that he turned from thence with all his Forces to Rome. O a People worthy of the Empire of the World! worthy of the Favour and Admiration of all, both Men and Gods! Though driven to the utmost Apprehensions, yet they did not desist from their Design; and though concerned for their own City, yet they did not quit Capua: But a Part of the Army being left under Appius the Consul, and Part following Flaccus to the Town, they fought both at Home and abroad all at once. Why therefore need we wonder, that the Gods themselves, the Gods, I say, (I shall not be ashamed to confess it) withstood Annibal when decamped at three Miles Distance from the City. For such violent Storms poured down, such a Hurricane of Wind arose

pu-

pudebit) restitisse? Tanta enim ad singulos illius motus vis imbrum effusa, tanta ventorum violentia coorta est, ut divinitus hostem summo- veri; neque cœlo, sed ab urbis ipsius mœni- bus, & Capitolio ferri videretur. Itaque fugit, & cessit, & in ultimum se Italiæ recepit sinum, quum urbem, tantum non adoratam reliquisset. Parva res dictu, sed ad magnanimitatem populi Romani probandam satis efficax: quod illis ipsis, quibus obsidebatur die- bus, ager, quam Annibal castris insederet, venalis Romæ fuit, hastæque subjectus invenit empto- rem. Voluit Annibal con- tra fiduciam imitari; sub- jecitque argentarias urbis tabernas: nec sector in- ventus est; ut scias, etiam præfagia satis fuisse.

Nihil actum erat tanta virtute, tanto favore eti- am deorum: siquidem Asdrubal frater Annibalis cum exercitu novo, novis viribus, nova belli mole veniebat. Actum erat pro- cul dubio, si vir ille se cum fratre junxisset: sed hunc quoq; castra metan- tem Claudius Nero cum Livio Salinatore debellat. Nero in ultimo Italiæ angulo summovebat Anni- balem. Livius in diversissi-

*upon every Motion of his, that the Enemy seemed to be repulsed by the Gods, and the Storm not to come from Heaven, but from the Walls of the City and the Capitol. Wherefore he fled and retired, and withdrew himself into the farthest Corner of Italy, after he had left the City in a Man- ner adored. It is but a small Mat- ter to mention, but proper enough to prove the Magnanimity of the Ro- man People, that during the very Days on which they were besieged, the Land, which Annibal had pos- sessed himself of for his Camp, was to be sold at Rome; and being ac- tually exposed publickly to Sale, found a Chapman. Annibal on the other Side had a Mind to imitate their Assurance, and put up to Sale the Silversmiths' Shops in the City; but no Buyer was found, that you may perceive those Things were Pre- sages of the future Fate of each People.*

*Nothing had been done by so much Bravery, so much Favour too of the Gods, since Asdrubal, the Brother of Annibal, was com- ing with a new Army, new Strength, and a new Load of War. Without Doubt there had been an End of the Romans, if that Man had joined himself with his Brother. But Claudius Nero, with Livius Salinator, de- feated him too, as he was pitch- ing his Camp. Nero kept off An- nibal in the farthest Corner of Italy. Livy had turned his*

mam partem, id est, in ipsas nascentis Italiæ fauces signa converterat. Tanto, id est, omni, qua longissima Italia solo interjacente, quo consilio, qua celeritate, consules castra conjunxerint, inopinantemq; hostem collatis signis compresserint, neque id fieri Annibal senserit difficile dictu est. Certe Annibal recognita, quum projectum fratris caput ad sua castra vidisset *Agnosco*, inquit, *infelicitatem Carthaginis*. Hæc fuit illius viri, non sine præfagio quodam fati imminentis, prima confessio. Jam certum erat Annibalem, etiam ipsius confessione, posse vinci: sed tot rerum prosperarum fiducia plenus populus Romanus, magni æstimabat asperrimum hostem in sua Africa debellare. Duce igitur Scipione, in ipsam Africam tota mole conversus, imitari cœpit Annibalem, & Italiæ suæ clades in Africam vindicare. Quas ille (dii boni!) Asdrubalis copias, quos Syphacis exercitus fudit? Quæ quantaque utriusque castra facibus illatis una nocte delevit? Denique jam non a tertio lapide, sed ipsas Carthaginis portas obsidione quatiebat. Sic factum est, ut

*Standards into a quite different Part, to the very Entrance of Italy. It is hard to say, with what good Conduct, and with what Expedition the Consuls joined their Camps, though so vast a Space, that is, all Italy, where it is longest, lay betwixt them, and by Surprise, with united Forces, defeated the Enemy, so that Annibal was not sensible of it. It is certain, when Annibal understood the Matter, and saw his Brother's Head thrown before his Camp, he said, I perceive the Unhappines of Carthage. This was the first Confession of that Man, not without a Presage of the approaching Fate. It was now certain, Annibal might be conquered, even by his own Confession. But the Roman People, full of mighty Hopes from so many Successes, thought it a Matter of no small Importance to conquer this most desperate Enemy in his own Africa. Wherefore turning with all their Might upon Africa itself, they begun to imitate Annibal, and to revenge the Ravage made in Italy, in Africa. Good Gods! what vast Forces of Asdrubal, what Armies of Syphax, did he overthrow? What, and how great a Camp of each did he destroy, by the casting of Torches into them, in one Night? Finally, he did not terrify Carthage at three Miles' Distance, but shook the very Gates of it by a close Siege. Thus was it brought to pass, that they forced Annibal, that still stuck and lay close upon*

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inhærentem atque incubantem Italiæ extorqueret Annibalem. Non fuit major sub imperio Romano dies, quam ille, quum duo omnium & antea, & postea ducum maximi, ille Italiæ; hic Hispaniæ victor, collatis cominus signis direxere aciem. Sed & colloquium fuit inter ipsos de legibus pacis. Steterunt diu mutua admiratione defixi: ubi de pace non convenit, signa cecinere. Constat utriusque confessione, nec melius instrui aciem, nec acrius potuisse pugnari. Hoc Scipio de Annibalis, Annibal de Scipionis exercitu prædicaverunt. Sed tamen Annibal cessit, præmiumq; victoriæ Africa fuit; & sequutus Africam statim terrarum orbis.

*Italy, away. There was not a greater Day during the Roman Empire than that, when two Generals, the greatest of all, both before and after them, one the Conqueror of Italy, and the other of Spain, engaged in close Fight Hand to Hand. But there was first a Conference betwixt them about Articles of Peace. They stood fixed a long Time with mutual Admiration; but not agreeing upon a Peace, the Signal for Battle was sounded. It is certain, from the Confession of both, that an Army could not be more skilfully drawn up than they were on both Sides; nor Fight more obstinately maintained. This Scipio confessed of Annibal's Army, and Annibal of Scipio's. But however Annibal gave Way, and Africa was the Reward of the Victory; and the whole World immediately followed Africa.*

CAP. VII. *Bellum Macedonicum primum.*

POST Carthaginem vinci neminem puduit. Sequuntæ sunt statim Africam gentes, Macedonia, Græcia, Syria, cæteraque omnia, quodam quasi æstu, & torrente fortunæ. Sed primi omnium Macedones, affectator quondam imperii populus. Itaque quamvis tunc Philippus regno præsideret, Romani ta-

AFTER Annibal, nobody was ashamed to be conquered. The Nations of Macedonia, Greece, Syria, and all other Places, immediately followed Africa, by a certain Tide and Torrent of Fortune as it were. But first of all the Macedonians, a People formerly an Affectator of Dominion. Wherefore tho' Philip at that Time ruled the Kingdom, yet the Romans seemed to themselves to engage with

men dimicare sibi cum rege Alexandro videbantur. Macedonicum bellum nomine amplius, quam spectatione gentis fuit. Causa cœpit a fœdere Philippi, quo rex jampridem dominantem in Itàlia Annibalem sibi sociaverat: postea crevit, implorantibus Athenis auxilium contra regis injurias, quum ille ultra jus victoriæ, in templa, aras, & sepulchra ipsa fœviret. Placuit senatui opem tantis ferre supplicibus. Quippe jam gentium reges, duces, populi, nationes, præsidia sibi ab hac urbe petebant. Primo igitur Lævino consule populus Romanus Ionium mare ingressus, tota Græciæ littora, veluti triumphanti classe, peregravit. Spolia quippe Siciliæ, Sardinia, Hispaniæ, Africæ præferebat; manifestam victoriam nata in prætoria puppe laurus pollebatur. Aderat sponte in auxilium Attalus rex Pergamenorum: aderant Rhodii, nauticus populus: qui navibus a mari, consul a terris, omnia equis virisque quatiebat. Bis victus rex, bis fugatus, bis exutus castris: quum tamen nihil terribilius Macedonibus fuit ipso vulnèrum aspectu:

*King Alexander. The Macedonian War was greater in Name, than for any great Account is made of that Nation. The Occasion of it begun from a Treaty of Philip's, by which the King had united to him Annibal, who had now for some Time carried all before him in Italy. Afterwards it was improved, upon Athens begging Assistance against the Injuries of the King, he having poured out his Fury upon the Temples, Altars, and Sepulchres, beyond the Right of Conquest. The Senate resolved to give Assistance to such considerable Petitioners. For now the Kings of the Nations, Commanders, Peoples and Nations, sought for themselves Protection from this City. Wherefore the Roman People first entered the Ionian Sea under the Consul Lævinius; and traversed all the Coast of Greece with their Fleet, as it were in Triumph. For it carried in it the Spoils of Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and Africa; and a Laurel that grew up in the Admiral's Ship, manifestly promised Victory. Attalus, King of the Pergamenians, came of his own Accord to their Assistance. The Rhodians too came in, a Seafaring People, who made all shake by Sea with their Ships, whilst the Consul did the same by Land, with Horses and Men. The King was twice defeated, twice put to Flight, and twice forced out of the Camp: Whilst yet nothing was more terrible than the very sight of those Wounds, which*

quæ

quæ non spiculis, non sagittis, nec ullo Græculo ferro; sed ingentibus pilis nec minoribus adacta gladiis, ultra mortem patebant. Enimvero Flaminio duce invios antea Chaonum montes, Aoumque amnem per abrupta vadentem, id est, ipsa Macedonia claustra penetravimus. Introisse, victoria fuit: nam nunquam postea ausus congregi rex, ad tumulos, quos Cynocephalas vocant uno, ac ne hoc quidem iusto, prælio opprimitur. Et illi quidem consul pacem dedit, regnumque concessit. Mox, ne quid esset hostile, Thebas & Eubœam, & grassantem sub Nabide suo Lacedæmoniam compescuit. Græciæ vero veterem statim reddidit, ut legibus viveret suis, & avita libertate frueretur. Quæ gaudia, quæ vociferationes, fuerunt, quum hoc forte Nemæ in theatro, quinquennialibus ludis a præcone caneretur? quo certavere plausu? quid florum in consulem profuderunt? Et iterum iterumque præconem repetere illam vocem jubebant, qua libertas Achaicæ pronunciabatur: nec aliter illa consulari sententia, quam modulatissimo aliquo tiliarum, aut fidium cantu, fruebantur.

*were not made with Lances; nor Arrows, nor any Græcian Rapier, but with huge Javelins and Swords no less, and gaped beyond what was necessary for Destruction. Under our General Flaminius too, we penetrated through the Mountains of the Chaonians, before unpassable, and through the River Aous, which runs through craggy Places, that is, the very Barriers of Macedonia. Our Entrance was a Victory: For the King never after that daring to engage, was defeated at the Hills which they call Cynocephalæ, in one single Battle, and that not a complete one. But the Consul indeed gave him a Peace, and granted him his Kingdom. Soon after, that there might be no Enemy left behind, he reduced Thebes and Eubœa, and Lacedæmon, which was making no small Disturbance under its Prince Nabis. But he restored to Greece its antient Condition, to live by its own Laws, and enjoy its old Liberty. What Joy, what Shouting was there, when this was proclaimed by the Cryer in the Games celebrated every five Years in the Theatre at Nemæa? With what clapping of Hands did they contend with one another? What Flowers did they throw out upon the Consul? And they ordered the Cryer to repeat the Proclamation again and again, by which the Liberty of Achaia was declared. Nor did they enjoy that Declaration of the Consul any otherwise than a harmonious Concert of Flutes and stringed Instruments.*

C A P. VIII. *Bellum Syriacum regis Antiochi.*

Macedoniam statim, & regem Philip-pum Antiochus excepit, quodam casu, quasi industria, sic adjubernante fortuna, ut quemadmodum ab Africa in Europam, sic ab Europa in Asiam, ultro se suggerentibus causis imperium precederet, & cum terrarum orbis situ, ipse ordo victoriarum navigaret. Non aliud formidolosius fama bellum fuit: quippe quum Persas, & Orientem, Xerxem, atque Darium cogitarent; quando perfossi in-vii montes, quando velis opertum mare nunciaretur: ad hoc cœlestes minæ territabant, quum humore continuo Cumanus Apollo sudaret. Sed hic saventis Asiæ suæ numinis timor erat. Nec sane viris, opibus, armis, quicquam copiosius Syria: sed in manus tam ignavi regis incederat, ut nihil fuerit in Antiocho speciosius quam quod a Romanis victus est. Impulere regem in id bellum, illinc Thoas Ætoliæ princeps, inhonoratam apud Romanos querens adversus Macedones militiæ suæ societatem:

*Antiochus immediately followed Macedonia and King Philip; Fortune by chance so over-ruling the Matter, as if it were with Design, that, as the Empire advanced from Africa into Europe, so Pretences offering of themselves, it might advance from Europe into Asia, and the Order of their Victories sail about with the Situation of the World. There never was any other War more formidable for the Fame of it, when they reflected upon the Persians and the East, Xerxes and Darius; when unpassable Mountains were said to be dug through, and the Sea to be covered with Sails: Besides, Threats from Heaven terrified them, Apollo at Cumæ sweating with a continual Moisture. But this was the Concern of the God favouring his beloved Asia. And indeed no Country bounds more in Men, Riches, and Arms, than Syria. But it was fallen into the Hands of so unactive a Prince, that there was nothing more specious in Antiochus, than that he was conquered by the Romans. On one Side Thoas, a leading Man of Ætolia, complaining that his joining in the War against the Macedonians not sufficiently considered amongst the Romans: On the other Side Annibal, who being defeated in Africa, flying his Country, and uneasy in Peace, sought all the World over for an Enemy to the*  
hinc

hinc Annibal, qui in Africa victus, profugus, & pacis impatiens, hostem populo Romano toto orbe quærebat. Et quod illud fuisset periculum, si se consiliis ejus rex tradidisset, id est, si Asiæ viribus usus fuisset miser Annibal? Sed rex suis opibus, & nomine regio fretus satis habuit bellum movere. Europa jam dubio procul jure ad Romanos pertinebat: hic Lyfimachiam urbem, in littore Thraëio positam a majoribus suis, Antiochus ut hæreditario jure reposcebat. Hoc velut fidere, Asiatici belli mota tempestas. Et maximus regum, contentus fortiter indixisse bellum, quum ingenti strepitu ac tumultu movisset ex Asia, occupatis statim insulis, Græciæque littoribus, otia & luxus tanquam victor agitabat. Eubœam insulam continenti adhærentem tenui freto, reciprocantibus aquis Euripus abscidit. Hic ille positis aureis fericisque tentoriis, sub ipso freti murmure, quum inter fluentia tibiis fidibusque concineret, collatis undique, quamvis per hyemem, rosis, ne non aliquo ducem genere agere videretur, virginum puerorumque delectatus

*Roman People, pushing on the King to that War. And what would the Danger have been, if the King had delivered himself up to his Counsels, that is, if the miserable Annibal had made use of the Power of Asia? But the King relying upon his Strength, and the Name of King, was satisfied with beginning the War. Europe already without Doubt of Right belonged to the Romans. But here Antiochus demanded the City Lyfimachia, built by his Ancestors upon the Shore of Thrace, as it were by hereditary Right. By this Constellation as it were, was the Storm of the Asiatick War raised: And the greatest of Kings being content to have stoutly proclaimed the War, after he had with a great deal of Noise and Bustle moved from Asia, having immediately possessed himself of the Islands and the Coasts of Greece, passed away his Time in Ease and Luxury, as if he was already Conqueror. The Euripus separates Eubœa, which is close by the Continent, by its narrow Sea, with the Waters continually ebbing and flowing. Here he erecting Tents of Cloth of Gold and Silk close by the murmuring Noise of the Faro, and having Concerts of Flutes and stringed Instruments, hard by the Streams, with Roses gathered from all Parts, though in the Winter, that he might not appear to act the General in no Kind, had Musters of Girls and Boys. Wherefore the Roman People attacked the King, already defeated by his own Luxury, under the Consul Acilius Glabrio,*

tus habebat. Talem ergo regem jam sua luxuria debellatum, populus Romanus Acilio Glabrione consule, in insula aggressus, ipso statim adventus sui nuncio coegit ab insula fugere. Tum præcipitem apud Thermopylas assequutus, locum trecentorum Laconum speciosa cæde memorandum, ne ibi quidem fiducia loci resistentem, mari ac terra cedere coegit. Statim & e vestigio itur in Syriam. Classis regia Polyxenidæ Annibalique commissa: nam rex prælium nec spectare poterat: igitur duce Æmilio Regillo, adremigantibus Rhodiis, tota laceretur. Ne sibi placeant Athenæ; in Antiocho vicinus Xerxem; in Æmilio Themistoclem æquavimus; Ephesiis Salamina pensavimus. Tum consule Scipione; cui frater ille modo victor Carthaginis Africanus voluntaria legatione aderat, debellari regem placet: & jam toto cesserat mari; sed nos imus ulterius. Mæandrum ad amnem montemque Sipylum, castra ponuntur. Hic rex, incredibile dictu, quibus auxiliis, quibus copiis confederat. Trecenta milia peditum; equitum,

*in the Island, forced him immediately by the very News of their Arrival to fly from the Island; and then coming up with him as he was hurrying away at Thermopylæ, a Place famous for the glorious Death of three hundred Spartans, obliged him, without his making any Opposition even there in Trust to the Situation of the Place, to fly before them both by Sea and Land. Immediately and forthwith they proceeded for Syria. The King's Fleet was committed to Polyxenidas and Annibal; for the King could not see the Fight: Wherefore the Fleet was entirely demolished by the Roman Commander, Æmilius Regillus, and the Rhodians in Conjunction with him. Let not Athens boast itself; we conquered Xerxes in Antiochus, equalled Themistocles in Æmilius, and came not short of the Action at Salamis in that near Ephesus. Upon this the Romans resolved upon the entire Conquest of the King by the Means of the Consul Scipio, whom his Brother Africanus, lately the Conqueror of Carthage, attended upon in the Quality of Lieutenant-General; which he voluntarily took upon himself; and the King had already quitted the Sea entirely; but we go further. The Roman Camp is pitched by the River Mæander, and the Mountain Sipylum. It is incredible to say, with what auxiliary Forces and other Troops the King had here encamped. There were three hundred thousand Foot, and no less a Number in proportion of Horse and scythed fal-*

falcatorumque curruum non minor numerus. Elephantis ad hoc immensæ magnitudinis, auro, purpura, argento, & suo ebore fulgentibus, aciem utrinque vallaverat. Sed hæc omnia præpedita magnitudine sua; ad hoc imbrem, qui subito superfusus, mira felicitate Persicos arcus corruperat. Primum trepidatio, mox fuga, dehinc triumphus fuerunt. Victo & supplici pacem atque partem regni dari placuit, colibentius, quod tam facile cessisset.

*Chariots. He had besides secured his Army on each Flank with Elephants of a vast Bigness, making a very gay Appearance in Gold, Scarlet, Silver, and their own Ivory. But all these mighty Preparations were embarrassed by their own unweildy Grandeur; and besides by a Shower of Rain, which pouring down on a sudden, with wonderful good Luck had spoiled the Persian Bows. There was at first a Consternation, and soon after a Flight, and then a Triumph. It was resolved to grant a Peace, and a Part of the Kingdom, to the vanquished and suppliant Prince; and the more readily, because he had so easily yielded.*

C A P. IX. *Bellum Ætolicum.*

**S**Yriatico bello successit, ut debet, Ætolicum. Victo quippe Antiocho, Romanus facies Asiatici belli persequeretur. Ergo Fulvio Nobiliori mandata ultio est. Hic protinus caput gentis Ambraciam, regiam Pyrrhi, machinis quatit. Sequuta deditio est. Aderant Ætolorum precibus Attici, Rhodii: & meminimus auxilii: sic placuit ignoscere. Serpsit tamen latius in proximos bellum, omnemque late Cephaleni-

**T**HE Ætolian succeeded the Syrian War, as it ought. For after Antiochus was conquered, the Romans pursued the Authors of the Asiatick War. Wherefore the Revenge was committed to Fulvius Nobilior. He immediately batters with his Engines of War the Capital of the Nation Ambracia, the Royal Seat of Pyrrhus. A Surrender followed. The Athenians and Rhodians assisted the Prayers of the Ætolians; and we remembered their Assistance, and accordingly resolved to pardon them. Yet the War spread widely amongst their Neighbours, and

am, Zacynthon: & quicquid insularum in eo mari inter Ceraunios montes jugumque Maleum, Ætolici belli accessio fuerunt.

*through all Cephalenia, Zacynthos; and whatsoever Islands there are in that Sea betwixt the Ceraunian Mountains, and the Malean Ridge, were an Addition of the Ætolian War:*

## C A P. X.

*Bellum Histricum.*

**H**ISTRICI sequuntur Ætolos: quippe belantes eos nuper adjuverant: & initia pugnae prospera hosti fuerunt, eademque exitii causa. Nam quum Cnæi Manlii castra cepissent, optimæque prædæ incubarent; epulantes, ac ludibundos pleurosque, ac ubi essent, præpoculis, nescientes, Appius Pulcher invadit. Sic cum sanguine & spiritu male partam revolvere victoriam. Ipse rex Apulo, equo impositus, quum subinde crapula & capitis errore lapsaret, captum sese vix & ægre, postquam experrectus est, didicit.

**T**HE Histrians follow the Ætolians: For they had lately assisted them in the War. And the Beginning of the Fight was successful for the Enemy, and the same the Cause of their Overthrow. For having taken the Camp of Cnæus Manlius and fallen to the Enjoyment of the wealthy Plunder thereof; Appius Pulcher fell upon them whilst they were feasting; and most of them at Game, and not knowing, by Reason of their Cups, were they were. Thus they vomited up their ill-gotten Victory; with their Blood and Breath. The King himself, Apulo, being set on Horseback, but tottering now and then with Drunkenness, and the Dizziness of his Head, with Difficulty, and a great deal ado, become sensible, after he had awaked, that he was a Prisoner.

## C A P. XI.

*Bellum Gallogræcum.*

**G**allogræciam quoque Syriaci belli ruina convolvit: fuerint inter

**T**HE Ruin of the Syrian War involved Gallogræcia, whether they were really amongst  
auxi-



auxilia regis Antiochi, an fuisse, ac cupidus triumphi Manlius eos vivos simulaverit, dubium est. Certe negatus est victori triumphus; quia causam belli non approbavit Senatus. Cæterum gens Gallogræcorum, sicut ipsum nomen indicio est, mixtæ, & adulteratæ reliquiæ Gallorum, qui Brenno duce vastaverant Græciam: mox Orientem sequuti, in mediâ Asiæ parte federunt. Itaque ut frugum semina mutato solo degenerant, sic illa genuinâ feritas eorum, Asiatica amœnitate molita est. Duobus itaque præliis fusi fugatique sunt: quamvis sub adventu hostis relictis sedibus, in altissimos se montes recepissent, quos Tolistobigi, Tectosagique jam infederant. Utrique fundis sagittisque acti, in perpetuam se pacem dederunt. Sed alligati miraculo quodam fuere, quum catenas morsibus & ore tentassent, quum effocandas invicem fauces præbuissent. Nam Orgiagontis regis uxor a centurione stuprum passa memorabili exemplo custodiam evasit, revulsumque militis caput ad maritum suum retulit.

*the Auxiliaries of King Antiochus or Manlius desirous of a Triumph pretended they were seen amongst them, is doubtful. However a Triumph is denied the Conqueror, because the Senate did not approve of the Occasion of the War. But the Nation of the Gallogræcians, as the Name itself shews, were mixed and adulterated Relicks of the Gauls that had ravaged Greece, under the General Brennus; and afterwards marching Eastward, settled in the Middle of Asia. Wherefore as your Corn-Seeds upon changing their Soil degenerate, so that native Savageness of their's was softened by the Pleasantness of Asia. Wherefore they were overthrown in two Battles; though leaving their own Country upon the Enemy's coming, they had betaken themselves into very high Mountains, which the Tolistobigi and the Tectosagi had already possessed themselves of. Both being driven from thence with Slings and Arrows, surrendered themselves for perpetual Peace. But the Prisoners were the Occasion of Wonder, when they attempted their Chains with biting, and their Mouths, and offered their Jaws to one another to be squeezed to Suffocation. For the Wife of King Orgiagon having suffered a Rape from a Centurion, by a memorable Example made her Escape from her Keepers, and brought the Soldier's Head, which she had cut off, to her Husband.*

CAP. XII. *Bellum Macedonicum secundum.*

**D**UM aliæ aliæque gentes Syriaci belli sequuntur ruinam, Macedonia se rursus erexit. Fortissimum populum memoria & recordatio suæ nobilitatis agitabat: successerat Philippo filius Perfes, qui semel in perpetuum victam esse Macedoniam, non putabat ex gentis dignitate. Multo vehementius sub hoc Macedones, quam sub patre consurgunt: quippe Thracas in vires suas traxerant: atque ita industriam Macedonum, viribus Thracum, ferociam Thracum disciplina Macedonum temperaverunt. Accessit his consilium ducis qui situm regionum suarum summo speculatus Hæmo, positus per abrupta castris, ita Macedoniam suam armis ferroque vallaverat, ut non reliquisset aditum, nisi a cælo venturis hostibus videretur. Nam Marcio Philippo consule eam provinciam ingressus populus Romanus, exploratis diligenter accessibus per Astrudem paludem, per acerbos dubiosque tumulos, illa quæ volucris quoque

**W**HILST Nations after Nations follow the Ruin of the Syrian War, Macedonia again bestirred itself. The Remembrance and Consideration of their Fame pushed on this most gallant People. His Son Perfes had succeeded Philip; who thought it not agreeable to the Dignity of the Nation, that Macedonia should be at once conquered for ever. The Macedonians rise under him with much more Violence than they had done under the Father. For they had drawn the Thracians into their Party, and so tempered the Industry of the Macedonians with the Strength of the Thracians, and the Fierceness of the Thracians by the Discipline of the Macedonians. To these Things was added the Conduct of the Prince, who viewing the Situation of his Country from the Top of Hæmus, by pitching of several Camps in craggy Mountains, had so secured his Macedonia with Arms and the Sword, that he did not seem to have left any Passage into it, unless to Enemies that should come from Heaven. The Roman People, under their Consul Marcius Philippus, entered that Province, and having examined carefully the Avenues, made their Way in through the Fen of Astrus, through dangerous and difficult Hills, and such vide-

videbantur invia, accessit: regemque securum, & nihil tale metuentem subita belli irruptione teruit. Cujus tanta trepidatio fuit, ut pecuniam omnem in mare jussit mergi, ne periret: classem cremari, ne incenderetur.

Paulo consule quum majora & crebra essent imposita praesidia, per alias vias Macedonia deprehensa est; summa quidem arte & industria ducis, quum alia minatus, alia irrepsisset. Cujus adventus ipse adeo terribilis regi fuit, ut interesse non auderet, sed gerenda ducibus bella mandaverit. Absens ergo victus, fugit in maria, insulamque Samothracen, fretus celebri religione, quasi templa & arae possent defendere, quem nec montes sui, nec arma potuissent: Nemo regum diutius amissae fortunae conscientiam retinuit. Supplex quum scriberet ad imperatorem ab illo quo confugerat templo, nomenque epistolae notaret suum, regem addidit. Sed nec reverentior captae majestatis alius Paulo fuit. Quum in conspectum venisset hostis, in templum recepit, &

Places, as seemed unpassable even to Birds, and sadly terrified the King, secure, and apprehensive of no such Thing, by a sudden Irruption of War. Whose Consternation was so great, that he ordered all the Money to be sunk in the Sea, lest it should be lost, and the Fleet to be burnt, for fear it should be set on Fire.

When Paul was Consul, strong Guards, and many of them, being placed upon the Borders, Macedonia was entered by other Ways; by the extraordinary Art and Industry of the Roman General, whilst he threatened them in one Quarter, and slipped in at another. Whose Arrival was so terrible to the King, that he durst not be with his Army, but left the War to be managed by his Generals. Wherefore being overthrown in his Absence from the Army, he fled to the Seas, and the Island of Samothrace, depending upon the celebrated Religiousness of the Place, as if Temples and Altars could protect him, whom neither his Mountains, nor his Arms could. None of the Kings ever retained a Sense of his lost Fortune longer. When he writ as a Suppliant to the Roman General, from that Temple to which he fled, and put his Name to the Letter, he added King to it. But no one was ever more respectful to captive Majesty than Paul. When he came into the Sight of the Enemy, he received him into his Tent, and set him at his own

conviviis adhibuit, liberosque admonuit suos, ut fortunam cui tantum liceret, revererentur. Inter pulcherrimos hunc quoque populus Romanus de Macedonia duxit atque vidit triumphum: quippe cujus spectaculo triduum impleverit. Primus dies signa tabularumque; sequens arma pecuniarumque transvexit; tertius captivos, ipsumque regem, attonitum adhuc, tanquam subito malo stupentem. Sed multo prius gaudium victoriæ populus Romanus, quam epistolis victoris perceperat: quippe eodem die, quo victus Perseus in Macedonia, Romæ cognitum est. Duo juvenes candidis equis apud Juturnæ lacum pulverem & cruorem abluant: hi nunciare. Castorem & Pollucem fuisse creditum vulgo, quod gemini fuissent, interfuisse bello, quod sanguine maderent: a Macedonia venire, quod adhuc anhelarent.

*Table, and advised his Sons to reverence Fortune, who had so much in her Power. Amongst the most glorious did the Roman People celebrate and see this Triumph over Macedonia, as in the Sight of which they passed three Days. The first Day brought up the Statues and Pictures; the following Arms and Money; the third, the Prisoners, and the King himself, as yet astonished, and as it were stupified with so sudden a Calamity. But the Roman People received the joyful News of this Victory much sooner than by the Conqueror's Letter: For the same Day that Perseus was conquered in Macedonia, it was known at Rome. Two young Men upon white Horses were seen washing off Dust and Blood at the Lake of Juturna; these brought the News. It was commonly believed they were Castor and Pollux, because they were two, and that they were in the Fight, because they were all wet with Blood; and that they were come from Macedonia, because they were then out of Breath.*

### C A P. XIII. *Bellum Illyricum.*

**M**acedonici belli contagio traxit Illyrios. Ipsi quidem ut Romanum a tergo distringe-

**T**HE Contagion of the Macedonian War drew in the Illyrians. They indeed served in the same, upon being hired by  
rent

rent, a Perse rege con-  
ducti pecunia, militavere.  
Sine mora ab Anicio  
prætoresubiguntur. Scordam  
caput gentis delesse  
suffecit: statim sequuta  
deditio est. Denique hoc  
bellum ante finitum est;  
quam geri Romæ nunci-  
aretur.

*Perse with Money, to plague  
the Romans in their Rear. They  
are without Delay subdued by  
Anicius the Prætor. He was  
content with destroying Scorda the  
Capital of the Nation; and imme-  
diately a Submission followed. In  
fine this War was finished before  
the News was at Rome that it was  
begun.*

C A P. XIV. *Bellum Macedonicum tertium.*

QUODAM fato, quasi  
ita convenisset inter  
Pœnos & Macedonas, ut  
tertio quoque vincerentur,  
eodem tempore utri-  
que arma moverunt:  
sed prior jugum excutit  
Macedo, aliquanto quam  
ante gravior, dum con-  
temnitur. Causa belli  
prope erubescenda: quippe  
regnum pariter &  
bellum vir ultimæ for-  
tis Andriscus invaserat;  
dubium liber an servus  
mercenarius certe: sed  
quia vulgo ex similitu-  
dine Philippi, *Pseudo-*  
*philippus* vocabatur, regi-  
am formam, regium  
nomen animo quoque  
regio implevit. Igitur  
dum hæc ipsa contemnit  
populus Romanus, Ju-  
vencio prætores contentus,  
virum non Macedonicis  
modo, sed Thraciæ quo-  
que auxiliis ingentibus  
validum, temere tenta-

**BY** some odd Fate, as if it had  
been so agreed between the  
Carthaginians and Macedonians,  
to be each thrice conquered, they  
both took up Arms at the same  
Time. But first the Macedonian  
shakes off the Yoke, being some-  
what harder to deal with than  
before, in being despised. The  
Cause of the War is almost to be  
blushed at: For a Man of the  
very lowest Rank, one *Andris-*  
*cus*, entered upon the Kingdom  
and a War against the Romans  
together. It's doubtful whether  
he was a Freeman or Slave; a  
hired Servant certainly he was:  
But because from a Resemblance  
of Philip, he was commonly call-  
ed the False Philip, he answered  
the Person and Name of a King,  
with the Spirit of a King.  
Wherefore whilst the Roman  
People slight these Transactions,  
content with employing the Præ-  
tor *Juvencius* against him, they  
too rashly attack a Man strong  
not only in Macedonian Forces,  
but in vast Auxiliaries from

vit: invictusque a veris regibus ab illo imaginario & senico rege superatur. Sed consule Metello, amissum cum legione prætorem, plenissime ultus est. Nam & Macedoniam servitute multavit: & ducem belli deditum ab eo, ad quem confugerat, Thraciæ regulo, in urbem in catenis reduxit; hoc quoque illi in malis indulgente fortuna, ut de eo populus Romanus, quasi de vero rege triumpharet.

*Thrace. And they that had never been conquered by true Kings, are baffled by this imaginary and scenical King. But under their Consul Metellus, they most amply revenged the Loss of their Prætor with his Legion. For they both punished Macedonia with Slavery, and brought to the City in Chains the General in this War, surrendered up by that petty King of Thrace, to whom he had fled: Fortune indulgently granting him this Favour in his Misfortunes, that the Roman People triumphed over him as over a true King.*

C A P. XV. *Bellum Punicum tertium.*

**T**ertium cum Africa bellum, & tempore exiguum, (nam quadriennio patratum est) & in comparatione priorum minimum labore: (non enim tam cum viris, quam cum ipsa urbe pugnatum est) sed plane maximum eventu: quippe eo tandem Carthago finita est. Atque si quis trium temporum momenta consideret, primo commissum bellum, profligatum secundo, tertio vero confectum est. Sed hujus causa belli, quod contra fœderis legem adversus Numidas quidem semel parasset

**T**HE third War with Africa was short in its Duration, (for it was finished in four Years) and in comparison of the former the least for the Trouble of it. For the Engagement was not so much with the Men, as the City itself; but was indeed the greatest of all in the Event: For in that Carthage was at last destroyed. And if any one considers the Importance of the three Times, the War was begun in the first, very much advanced in the second, and finished in the third. But the Reason of this War was, that, contrary to an Article of the Treaty of Peace, it had once fitted out a Fleet and an Army against the Numidians, and frequently alarmed the Council

classẽm ut exercitum, frequens autem Masinifæ fines territabat. Sed huic bono socioque regi favebatur. Quum bellum federet, de belli fine tractatum est. Cato in-expiabili odio delendam esse Carthaginem, & quum de alio consuleretur, pronunciabat. Scipio Nasica servandam, ne metu ablato æmulæ urbis luxuriari felicitas urbis inciperet, Medium senatus elegit, ut urbs tantum loco moveretur. Nihil enim speciosius videbatur, quam esse Carthaginem, quæ non timeretur. Igitur Manilio Censorinoque consulibus, populus Romanus aggressus Carthaginem, spe pacis injecta, traditam a volentibus classẽm, sub ipso ore urbis incendit. Tum evocatis principibus, si salvi esse vellent, ut migrarent finibus, imperatum. Quod pro rei atrocitate adeo movit iras, ut extrema mallet. Comploratum igitur publice statim, & pari voce clamatum est, ad arma: seditque sententia, quoque modo rebellandum: non quia spes ulla jam superesset; sed quia patriam suam mallent hostium quam suis manibus everti. Qui rebellantium fuerit furor,

*try of Massinissa. But the Romans favoured this good and confederate King. When the War was resolved on, there was a Debate about the End of it. Cato with implacable Hatred pronounced that Carthage ought to be destroyed, even when he was asked his Opinion about another Thing. Scipio Nasica was for having it preserved, lest the Fear of this rival City being taken off, the Happiness of the City should begin to be luxuriant. The Senate chose the middle Way, that the City should only be removed from its Place. For nothing seemed more glorious, than that there should be a Carthage, that should not be feared. Wherefore when Manilius and Censorinus were Consuls, the Roman People attacking Carthage, some Hopes of Peace being given them, they burnt the Fleet delivered up by them voluntarily in the very Face of the City. Then the chief Men being called out, Order was given them to quit the Town if they had a Mind to have Quarter. Which for the Rigour of the Thing so raised their Resentment, that they chose rather to suffer the utmost Extremity. Wherefore a great Cry of Lamentation was publicly set up; and with one Voice they cried out to Arms; and a Resolution was taken to rebel by any Means, not because there was now any Hopes left; but because they had rather their native City should be destroyed by the Enemies' Hands, than their own. What their Fu-*

vel hinc intelligi potest, quod in usum novæ classis tecta domusque resciderunt; in armorum officinis, aurum & argentum pro ære ferroque conflatum est: in tormentorum vincula, matronæ crines suos contulerunt. Mancino deinde consule, terra marique fervebat obsidio. Operis portus nudatus; & primus, & sequens, jam, & tertius murus; quum tamen Byrsa, quod nomen arci fuit, quasi altera civitas resistebat. Quamvis profligato urbis excidio, tamen fatale Africæ nomen Scipionum videbatur. Igitur in alium Scipionem conversa respublica, finem belli reposcebat. Hunc Paulo Macedonico procreatum, Africani illius magni filius in decus gentis assumpserat, hoc scilicet fato, ut quam urbem concusserat avus, nepos ejus everteret. Sed ut quam maxime mortiferi esse morsus solent morientium bestiarum; sic plus negotii fuit cum semiruta Carthagine quam integra. Compulsis in unam arcem hostibus, portum quoque maris Romanus obsederat. Illi alterum ibi portum ab alia urbis parte foderunt: nec ut fugerent,

ry was upon this Renewal of War, may be understood even from hence, that they pulled down their Houses and Habitations for the Use of a new Fleet; Gold and Silver was wrought up in their Forges for Arms, instead of Brass and Iron; and the married Women contributed their Hair for Ropes for the Engines of War. Afterwards when Mancinus was Consul, the Siege went warmly on by Land and by Sea. The Harbour was stript of its Works, and a first, and a second, and now a third Wall taken, whilst yet Byrsa, which was the Name of the Castle, held out as if it had been another City. Though the Destruction of the City was now pretty far advanced, yet the Name of the Scipio's seemed fatal to Africa. Wherefore the Government now applying to another Scipio, demanded from him an End of the War. The Son of that great Africanus had adopted him, by Nature the Son of Paulus Macedonicus, for an Ornament to the Family, with this Fortune attending, it seems, that the Grandson might ruin the City, which the Grandfather had shaken. But as the Bites of dying Beasts use to be the most mortal, so there was more Trouble with Carthage half ruined, than when it was entire. The Enemy being all forced up into the Castle, the Romans had besieged the Harbour too. Upon that they dug another Harbour, on the other Side of the City, and not to fly, but where no-body did believe they could pos-



sed qua nemo illos evadere posse credebat. Inde quasi enata subito classis erupit: quum interim jam diebus, jam noctibus, nova aliqua moles, nova machina, nova perditorum hominum manus, quasi ex obruto incendio subita de cineribus flamma prodibat. Deploratis novissime rebus, quadraginta se millia virorum dederunt quod minus credas, duce Asdrubale. Quanto fortius scemina, & uxor ducis, quæ comprehensis duobus liberis, a culmine se domus in medium misit incendium, imitata reginam, quæ Carthaginem condidit? Quanta urbs deleta sit, ut de cæteris taceam, vel ignium mori probari potest: quippe per continuos decem & septem dies vix potuit incendium extingui, quod domibus ac templis suis sponte hostes iminiferant: ut quatenus urbs eripi Romanis non poterat, triumphus arderet.

*sibly get out. From thence a Fleet sprung up as it were all on a sudden, broke out: whilst in the meantime, one while by Day, another by Night, some new Mole, new Machine, new Body of desperate Men started up, as it were a sudden Flame, out of the Ashes of a Fire buried in Rubbish. At last their Case being deplorable, forty thousand Men surrendered themselves, which you would scarce believe, with Asdrubal for their Leader. How much more gallantly did a Woman behave, the General's Lady, who, taking hold of her two Children, threw herself from the Top of her House into the Middle of the Fire, imitating the Queen which built Carthage? How great a City was destroyed, to say nothing of other Things, may be shewn by the Duration of the Fire. For the Fire could not be extinguished for seventeen Days together, which the Enemies bad thrown into their Temples and Houses; that seeing the City could not be delivered from the Romans, all Matter of Triumph however might be burnt.*

C A P. XVI. *Bellum Achaicum.*

Quasi sæculum illud everfionibus urbium curreret, ita Cartha-

*A*<sup>S</sup> if that Age run purposely for the Destruction of Cities, so Corinth immediately followed

ginis ruinam statim Corinthus exceperit, Achaicæ caput, Græciæ decus, inter duo maria, Ionium & Ægeum; quasi spectaculo exposita. Hæc (facinus indignum!) ante oppressa est, quam in numerum certorum hostium referretur. Critolaus causa belli: qui libertate a Romanis data adversus ipsos usus est: legatosque Romanos, dubium an & manu, certe oratione violavit. Igitur Metello, ordinanti tum maxime Macedoniam; mandata est ultio: & hinc Achaicum bellum. Ac primum Critolai manum Metellus Consul, per patentes Elidis campos, toto cecidit Alpheo. Et uno prælio peractum erat bellum. Jam & urbem ipsam terrebat obsidio: sed (fata rerum!) quum Metellus dimicasset, ad victoriam Mummius venit. Hic alterius ducis Diæi late exercitum sub ipsis isthmi faucibus fudit, geminosque portus sanguine infecit. Tandem ab incolis deserta civitas, direpta primum, deinde tuba precinente, deleta est. Quid signorum quid vestium, quidve tabularum raptum, incensum atque projectum est! Quantas opes &

the Ruin of Carthage being the Head of Achaia, the Glory of Greece, exposed as it were for a Spectacle between the two Seas, the Ionian and Ægean. This (O scandalous Action!) was destroyed, before it was reckoned in the Number of undoubted Enemies. Critolaus was the Cause of the War; who made use of the Liberty granted by the Romans themselves, and abused the Roman Embassadors, it is doubtful whether by Violence, or no; however with ill Language he did. Wherefore the Revenge of this Affront was committed to Metellus, at that Time settling the State of Macedonia; and upon this followed the Achaian War. And in the first Place the Consul Metellus made Havock of Critolaus's Army, through the wide Plains of Elis, all along the River Alpheus. And the War was ended by one Battle. And now a Siege alarmed the City itself: But (O the strange Fortune of Affairs!) after Metellus had fought the Enemy, Mummius came in for the Victory. He dispersed the Army of the other General Diæus in the very Entrance of the Isthmus, and dyed the double Harbour thereof with Blood. At last the City being forsaken by the Inhabitants was first plundered, and then upon Sound of Trumpet destroyed. What Statues, what Cloaths, and what Pictures were seized, burnt and thrown about! What vast Riches he took away and burnt, you may know by this, ab-

abstulerit & cremaverit hinc scias, quod quicquid Corinthii æris toto orbe laudatur, incendio superfuisse comperimus. Nam & æris notam preciosioris ipsa opulentissimæ urbis fecit injuria: quia incendio permittis plurimis statuis atque simulacris, auri, argenteque venæ in commune fluxere.

*that we find, whatsoever Corinthian Brass is prized throughout the whole World, was the Relicks of that Fire. For the Ruin of this most wealthy City made the Price of this Brass the higher, because several Statues and Images being jumbled together in the Fire, Veins of Brass, Gold, and Silver run together in one Mass.*

## C A P. XVII.

*Res in Hispania gestæ.*

UT Carthaginem Corinthus, ita Corinthum Numantia sequuta est. Nec deinde toto orbe quicquam intactum armis fuit. Post illa duo clarissima urbium incendia, late atque passim, nec per vices, sed simul pariter quasi unum undique bellum fuit; prorsus ut illæ urbes, quasi agitantibus ventis diffudisse quædam belli incendia toto orbe viderentur. Hispaniæ nunquam animus fuit adversus nos universæ confurgere: nunquam conferre vires suas libuit, neque aut imperium experiri, aut libertatem tueri suam publice: alioquin ita undique mari Pyrenæoque vallata est,

*AS* Corinth followed Carthage, so Numantia followed Corinth. Nor was there any Place after that, throughout the whole World, untouched by the Roman Arms. After the celebrated burning of those two Cities, there was far and wide, and not by Turns with this and that Nation, but one War as it were every where together and at once: So that those Cities seemed by the Agitation of the Winds as it were, to have spread the Fire of War all over. Spain never was in Mind all together to rise up against us: It never thought fit to unite its Strength, nor ever to try for the Empire of the World, or defend its Liberty unanimously; otherwise it was so secured on all Sides by the Sea and the Pyrenæan, that by the Nature of its Situation it could not be come at. But it was invaded

ut ingenio situs nec adiri quidem potuerit. Sed ante a Romanis obfessa est, quam se ipsa cognosceret; & sola omnium provinciarum vires suas, postquam victa est, intellexit. In hac prope ducentos per annos dimicatum est, a primis Scipionibus in Cæsarem Augustum non continue nec cohærentur, sed pro ut causæ lacefferant: nec cum Hispanis initio, sed cum Pœnis in Hispania: inde contagio & series causæque bellorum. Prima per Pyrenæum jugum signa Romana Publius & Cnæus Scipiones intulerunt; præliisque ingentibus Annonem & Asdrubalem fratris Annibalis ceciderunt: raptaque erat impetu Hispania, nisi fortissimi viri in ipsa sua victoria, oppressi Punica fraude, cecidissent, terra marique victores. Igitur quasi novam integramque provinciam ultor patris & patrii, Scipio ille, mox Africanus, invasit: isque statim capta Carthagine, & aliis urbibus, non contentus Pœnos expulisse, stipendiariam nobis provinciam fecit: omnia citra ultraque Iberum subjecit imperio: primusque Romanorum ducum, victor ad Gades

by the Romans before it knew itself; and alone of all the Provinces understood its Strength, after it was subdued. A War was carried on in this for almost two hundred Years, from the first Scipio's till Cæsar Augustus, not continued, nor without Intermission, but as Occasions moved the Romans, and not with the Spaniards at first, but with the Carthaginians in Spain. From whence proceeded the Contagion, Series, and Occasion of War. The two Scipio's, Publius and Cnæus, carried the Roman Standards first through the Pyrenæan Mountain, and mauled Anno, and Asdrubal the Brother of Annibal, in great Battles. And Spain had been carried at one Push, had not those gallant Men been surprized in the midst of their Success by the Carthaginian Subtlety, and taken off after they had been victorious by Land and Sea. Wherefore that Scipio, the Avenger of his Father and Uncle, who was afterwards called Africanus, entered upon the Province new and untouched as it were: And he immediately taking Carthage and other Cities, not satisfied with driving the Carthaginians out, made the Province tributary to us; and reduced all Places on this Side and beyond the Iberus, under the Dominion of the Romans. And first of all the Roman Generals came as far as Gades, and the Mouth of the Ocean. 'Tis a greater Matter to keep a Province, than to make one; and

& oceani ora pervenit. Plus est provinciam retinere, quam facere: itaque per partes jam huc, jam illuc missi duces, qui ferocissimas, & ad id temporis liberas gentes, ideo impatientes jugi, multo labore, nec incruentis certaminibus servire docuerunt. Cato ille censorius Celtiberos, id est robur Hispaniæ, aliquot præliis fregit. Gracchus, pater ille Gracchorum, eosdem centum & quinquaginta urbium eversione multavit. Metellus ille, cui ex Macedonia cognomen, meruerat & Celtiberios fieri, quum Contrebiam memorabili cepisset exemplo, & Nertobriges, majori gloria percipit. Lucullus Turdulos atq; Vaccæos: de quibus Scipio posterior, singulari certamine, quum a rege fuisset provocatus, opima retulerat. Decimus Brutus aliquanto latius, Celticos Lusitanosque, & omnes Gallæciæ populus, formidatamque militibus flumen Oblivionis: peragratoque victor oceanj littore, non prius signa convertit, quam cadentem in maria solem, obrutumque aquis ignem non sine quodam sacrilegii metu & horrore, apprehendit. Sed tota certaminum moles cum

accordingly Generals were dispatched into several Parts, now hither, now thither, who taught these savage, and 'till that Time free Nations, and therefore unable to wear the Yoke with Patience, with much Pains, and many bloody Battles, to be subject. Cato, that had been Censor, reduced the Celtiberians, that is, the Strength of Spain, in several Battles. Gracchus, that Father of the Gracchi, punished the same with the Destruction of an hundred an fifty Cities. That Metellus who had a Surname from Macedonia, and procured by his Merit to be surnamed Celtiberius too, after he had in a memorable Manner taken Contrebia, and the Nertobriges, with greater Glory spared them. Lucullus subdued the Turduli and the Vaccæi, from whom the latter Scipio got the Spoils called Opima, in a single Duel, having been challenged by their King. Decimus Brutus extended his Conquests something more widely amongst the Celtici and the Lusitanians, and all the Nations of Gallæcia, and to the River of Oblivion, so much dreaded by the Soldiers; and having traversed the Shore of the Ocean victorious, he did not turn his Standards, before he observed the Sun falling into the Sea, and its Fire buried in the Waves, not without some Dread and Apprehension of Sacrilege. But the main Stress of the War was with the Lusitanians and the Numantians, and not without Lusitanis

Lusitanis fuit & Numan-  
tinis: nec immerito.  
Quippe solis gentium His-  
paniæ duces contigerunt.  
Fuisset & cum omnibus  
Celtiberis, nisi dux illius  
motus initio belli op-  
pressus esset, summus vir  
astu & audacia, si res  
cessisset, Salendicus: qui  
hastam argenteam qua-  
tiens, velut cœlo missam,  
vaticinanti similis, om-  
nium in se mentes con-  
verterat. Sed quum pari  
temeritate sub nocte ca-  
stra consulis adiisset, jux-  
ta tentorium ipsum pilo  
vigilis exceptus est. Cæ-  
terum Lusitanos Viriatus  
erexit, vir calliditatis  
acerrimæ: qui ex venâ-  
tore latro, ex latrone su-  
bito dux atque impe-  
rator, & si fortuna ces-  
sisset, Hispaniæ Romulus.  
Non contentus liberta-  
tem suorum defendere,  
per quatuordecim annos  
omnia citra ultraque Ibe-  
rum & Tagum, igni, fer-  
roque populatus; castra  
etiam prætorum, & præ-  
sidum aggressus, Claudi-  
um Unimanum pæne ad  
internecionem exercitus  
cecidit, & insignia trabeis  
& fascibus nostris, quæ  
ceperat, in montibus suis  
trophæa fixit: tandem  
etiam Fabius Maximus  
consul oppresserat: sed  
a successore Pompilio vi-  
olata victoria est: quip-

*Cause: For Generals fell to the  
Share of them alone, of all the  
Nations of Spain. There would  
have been as much to do with  
all the Celtiberians, had not the  
Conductor of their Rising been  
taken off in the Beginning of  
the War, who might have been  
a very great Man by his Cun-  
ning and Boldness together, had  
Things favoured him, Salendi-  
cus; who brandishing a Silver  
Spear, as if sent him from Hea-  
ven, like one inspired, had turn-  
ed the Minds of all People upon  
him. But having with the like  
Rashness, in the Evening, en-  
tered the Consul's Camp, he was  
received with the Lance of one  
of the Watch near his Tent.  
Viriatus raised the Lusitanians,  
a Man of very extraordinary  
Craft, who of a Huntsman be-  
came a Robber, and of a Rob-  
ber suddenly a General, and a  
Commander, and would have  
been, if Fortune had given way,  
the Romulus of Spain. Not con-  
tent to defend the Liberty of his  
Countrymen, he laid waste all  
Places on this Side and beyond I-  
berus and Tagus, with Fire and  
Sword, for fourteen Years to-  
gether, attacking even the Camps of  
Prætors and Governors of the Pro-  
vinces, he defeated Claudius Uni-  
manus, almost to the utter Destruc-  
tion of his Army; and erected in  
the Mountains of his Country,  
Trophies very finely adorned with  
the Robes and Fasces of our Com-  
manders, which he had taken.  
At last, Fabius Maximus the Con-  
sul had brought him very low; but*

pe qui conficiendæ rei cupidus, fractum ducem, & extrema deditiois agitantem, per fraudem, & insidias, & domesticos percussores aggressus, hanc hosti gloriam dedit, ut videretur aliter vinci non potuisse.

*the Victory was spoiled by his Successor Pompilius, who desirous of dispatching the Business, fell upon the General, when in a Manner reduced, and designing the Extremity of Submission, by Treachery and Plots, and domestic Assassins, and gave the Enemy this Credit, that he seemed incapable of being conquered any other ways.*

C A P. XVIII. *Bellum Numantium.*

**N**umantia, quantum Carthaginis, Capuæ, Corinthi opibus inferior, ita virtutis nomine & honore par omnibus, summumque, si viros æstimes, Hispaniæ decus; quippe sine muro, sine turribus, modice edito in tumulo apud flumen Durium sita, quatuor millibus Celtiberorum, quadraginta millium exercitum, per annos quatuordecim sola sustinuit: nec sustinuit modo, sed sæpius aliquanto perculit, pudendisque foederibus affecit. Novissime quum invictam esse constaret, opus quoque eo fuit, qui Carthaginem everterat. Non temere, si fateri licet, ullius causa belli injustior. Segudenses, socios & consanguineos, Romanorum manibus e-

*AS Numantia was inferior to the Power of Carthage, Capua and Corinth; so was it equal to them all upon the Score of Conduct or Honour, and the greatest Glory of Spain, if you consider the Men, as which though without Wall, without Towers, situated upon a Hill moderately high, by the River Durius, with four thousand Celtiberians, did alone hold out against an Army of forty thousand Men, for fourteen Years together, and did not only hold out, but mauled them very cruelly, and obliged them to scandalous Treaties. At last, when they found the City, notwithstanding their Pains, still unreduced, there was Occasion they thought for him who destroyed Carthage. Nor was the Cause of any War hardly ever more unjust, if we confess the Truth. They had entertained the Segidensians, their Allies, and of the same Blood*  
laptos

lapsos exciperant. Habita pro eis deprecatio nihil valuit. Quum se ab omni bellorum contagione removerent, in legitimi fœderis pretium iussi arma deponere. Hoc sic a barbaris acceptum, quasi manus abscinderentur. Itaque statim, Megara viro fortissimo duce, ad arma conversi, Pompeium prælio aggressi: fœdus tamen maluerunt, quum debellare potuissent. Hostilium deinde Mancinum: hunc quoque assiduis cædibus ita subegerunt, ut ne oculos quidem aut vocem Numantini viri quisquam sustineret. Tamen cum hoc quoque fœdus maluerit, contenti armorum manubiis, quum ad internecionem sævire potuissent. Sed non minus Numantini, quam Caudini illius fœderis flagrans ignominia ac pudore populus Romanus, dedecus quidem præsentis flagitii, deditio Mancini expiavit: cæterum duce Scipione, Carthaginis incendiis ad excidia urbium imbuto, tandem etiam in ultionem excanduit. Sed tunc acrius in castris, quam in campo, nostro cum milite, quam cum Numantino, præliandum fuit. Quippe assiduis & injustis & servilibus maxi-

*with themselves, upon their escaping out of the Hands of the Romans. The Intercession they made for them availed nothing; and when they offered to withdraw themselves from all Concern in the War, they were ordered to lay down their Arms for the Purchase of a fair Treaty. This was so entertained by the Barbarians, as if their Hands were cut off. Wherefore immediately under the Conduct of a very brave Man, one Megara, flying to their Arms, they attacked Pompey in Fight; yet they rather chose to come to a Treaty, when they might have conquered him entirely. Afterwards they so reduced Hostilius Mancinus by the continual Slaughter of his Troops, that none of them could endure the Looks or Voice of a Man of Numantia. Yet they chose rather to come to a Treaty with him too, being content with the Spoil of their Arms, though they might have proceeded in their Fury to the utter Ruin of the Army. But the Roman People burning with Ignominy and Shame of the Numantine Treaty, no less than of the Caudine, wiped off the Scandal of the present Disgrace by the Surrender of Mancinus; but under their Leader Scipio, who had been trained up by the burning of Carthage, for the Destruction of Cities, they at length grew outrageous for Revenge. But then he was obliged to engage more briskly in the Camp, than in the Field, with our own*  
me



me operibus attriti, ferre plenius vallum, qui arma nescirent; luto inquinari, qui sanguine nollent, jubebantur. Ad hoc scorta, calones, sarcinæ nisi ad usum necessariæ, amputantur. Tanti esse exercitum, quanti imperatorem, vere proditum est. Sic redacto in disciplinam milite, commissa acies: quodque nemo visurum se unquam speraverat, factum est, ut fugientes Numantinos quisquam videret. Dedere etiam sese volebant, si toleranda viris imperarentur. Sed quum Scipio veram vellet & sine exceptione victoriam, eo necessitatum compulsi primum, ut destinata morte in prælium ruerent quum sese prius epulis quasi inferiis, implevissent, carnis semicrudæ, & celix: sic vocant indigenam ex frumento potionem. Intellectum ab imperatore consilium: itaque non est permissa pugna morituris. Quum fossa, atque lorica, quatuorque castris circumdatos fames premeret; ab duce orantes prælium, ut tanquam viros occideret, ubi non impetrabant, placuit eruptio. Sic conferta manu plurimi occisi: quum urgeret fames, aliquantisper inde vixere,

*Soldiers, than with the Numantians. For they were fatigued mightily with continual, excessive, and servile Services, and ordered to bear Plenty of Materials for Ramparts, who knew not how to bear Arms, and to be defiled with Dirt, that would not be stained with Blood. Besides this, Whores, Servants, and Baggage, but what was necessary for Use, are all dismissed. It has been truly said, that an Army is just so much worth as the Leader of it. After the Soldiery was thus brought under Discipline, a Battle was fought, and what nobody had ever hoped to see, was brought to pass, that they every one saw the Numantians fly. They appear willing to surrender themselves, if Things tolerable to Men had been laid upon them. But as Scipio was resolved to have a true Victory, and without Exception, they were driven to that Necessity, that they rushed into Battle with a Resolution to die, after they had gorged themselves with good Cheer, as it were Offerings for the Dead, that is of half-raw Flesh and Ale, or Celix; so they call a Drink peculiar to the Country, made of Corn. This Resolution of their's was understood by the Roman General. Wherefore Battle was not given to the Desperadoes. When now Famine pinched them sorely, being encompassed with a Ditch, and a Breast-work, and four Camps, desiring Battle from our General, that he would kill them as Men; when they could not prevail, a Sally was resolved upon. Upon this a Battle*

novissime consilium fugæ sedit : sed hoc quoque, ruptis equorum cingulis, uxores ademere, summo scelere, per amorem. Itaque deplorato exitu, in ultimam rabiem furorēque conversi, postremo mori hoc genere destinarunt : duces suos, seque patriamque, ferro, & veneno, subjectoque undique igne peremerunt. Macte fortissimam, & meo iudicio beatissimam in ipsis malis civitatem ! asseruit cum fide socios, populum orbis terrarum viribus fultum, sua manu, ætate tam longa, sustinuit. Novissime, maximo duce oppressa civitas, nullum de se gaudium hosti reliquit. Unus enim vir Numantinus non fuit, qui in catenis duceretur. Præda, ut de pauperibus, nulla : arma ipsi cremaverant. Triumphus fuit tantum de nomine.

*being fought, Abundance of them was slain ; and as the Famine was heavy upon them, they lived for some Time upon their Bodies. At last a resolution to fly was taken ; but this their Wives prevented by breaking their Horses' Girts in great Wickedness, but out of Love too. Wherefore all Deliverance being desperate, being now driven to the utmost Rage and Fury, at last they resolved to die this Way. They destroyed their Generals and themselves, their native City, by Sword and Poison, and Fire thrown into all Parts. Well fare thee, thou most gallant, and, in my Judgment, most happy City, in the midst of thy Misfortunes ! It protected its Allies with Honour, and withstood a People supported by the Strength of the whole world, with its own Troops only, for so long a Time. At last the City being overpowered by the greatest General in the World, left no Room for the Enemy to rejoice over it. there was not one man of Numantia, to be led in Chains. The Spoil, as coming from a poor People, was in Effect none ; they themselves had burnt their Arms. The Triumph was only over the Name of the Numidians.*

## C A P. XIX.

**H**Actenus populus Romanus, pulcher, egregius, pius, sanctus,

**T**HUS far the Roman People was glorious, incomparable, pious, just, and magnificent :  
atque

atque magnificus: reliqua sæculi ut grandia æque, ita vel magis turbida & fœda; crescentibus cum ipsa magnitudine imperii vitiis: adeo & si quis hanc tertiam ejus ætatem transmarinam, quam ducuntur annorum fecimus, dividat; centum hos priores, quibus Africam, Macedoniam, Siciliam, Hispaniam domuit, aureos, (sicut poetæ canunt) jure meritoque fateatur: centum sequentes, ferreos plane & cruentos, & si quid immanius: quippe qui Jugurthinis, Cimbricis, Mithridaticis, Parthicis bellis, Gallicis atque Germanicis, quibus cœlum ipsum gloria ascendit, Gracchanas, Drusianasque cædes, ad hoc Servilia bella miscuerunt: & nequid turpitudini desit, Gladiatoria. Denique, in se ipse conversus, Marianis & Sullanis, novissime Pompeii; & Cæsaris manibus, quasi per rabiem, & futorem, & nefas semet ipse laceravit. Quæ etsi involuta inter se sunt omnia atque confusa: tamen quo melius appareant; simul & ne scelera virtutibus obstrepant, separatim proferentur: priusque, ut cœpimus,

*The remaining Transactions of that Age, as they were equally grand, so were they more turbulent and shameful; the Vices of the Romans growing with the Greatness of their Empire: So that if any one divide this third Age of their's, spent in Conquests beyond the Seas, which we have made to consist of two hundred Years, he will with Reason and deservedly confess, that the first hundred Years, in which they conquered Africa, Macedonia, Sicily, and Spain, were Golden one's (as the Poet's sing) but the following hundred really Iron, and bloody one's; and if any thing else more severe can be said, really that; as which mixed the Murthers of the Gracchi and Drusus, and besides the Wars with the Slaves, and with the Gladiators too, that nothing might be wanting to complete their Shame, with the Jugurthine, Cimbrian, Mithridatick, Parthian, Gallick and German Wars, by which the Glory of the Romans mounted up to Heaven. Finally, turning upon themselves, they tore themselves to Pieces, as it were in Madness and Fury, and extreme Wickedness, by the Hands of Marius and Sylla, and at last of Pompey and Cæsar. Which Things, tho' they be joined and confounded together, yet that they may appear the better, and at the same Time too that their Villainies may not make a Clamour against their noble Qualities, shall be produced separately. And as we have begun, we shall in the*  
justa

justa illa & pia cum exteris gentibus bella memorabimus; ut magnitudo crescentis in dies imperii appareat; tum ad illa civium scelera, turpesque & impias pugnas revertemur:

*first Place relate those just Wars; in Defence of their Country, with foreign Nations, that the Greatness of the Empire growing every Day, may thereby appear; and then return to those Villainies, those scandalous and unnatural Wars of the Romans among themselves.*

C A P. IX. *Bellum Asiaticum.*

VICTA ad Occasum Hispania populus Romanus ad Orientem pacem agebat; nec pacem modo; sed inusitata & incognita quadem felicitate, reliquæ regis hæreditatibus opes, & tota insimul regna veniebant. Attalus rex Pergamenorum, regis Eumenis filius, socii quondam militonisque nostri, testamentum reliquit: 'Populus Romanus bonorum inæorum hæres esto.' In bonis regis hæc fuerant. Adita igitur hæreditate, provinciam populus Romanus, non quidem bello nec armis; sed, quod est æquius, testamenti jure retinebat. Sed hanc, difficile dictu est, utrum facilius amiserit, an recuperaverit. Aristonicus regii sanguinis ferox juvenis, urbes regibus parere consuetas, par-

*SPAIN* being conquered in the West, the Roman People had a Peace in the East; and not only Peace, but, by an unusual and unexampled Piece of good Fortune, Riches left them by Inheritance from Kings; and whole Kingdoms together came in to them. Attalus, King of the Pergamenians, the Son of King Eumenes, formerly our Ally and Fellow Soldier, left a Will running thus: 'Let the Roman People be Heir of all my Estate.' These were amongst the King's Goods. Wherefore the Roman People entering upon the Inheritance, kept the Province, not indeed by War, nor Arms; but what is more just, by the Right of a Will. But it is hard to say, whether they lost or recovered this the more easily. Aristonicus, a high-spirited Youth of Royal Blood, partly engages with Ease the Cities that had been used to be in Subjection to Kings; partly takes by Force a few that made Opposition, Myn-

tim facile sollicitat: paucas resistentes, Myndum, Samon, Colophonem, vi recipit. Crassi quoque prætoris cecidit exercitum, ipsumque cepit. Sed ille memor & familiæ, & Romani nominis, custodem sui barbarum virgula excæcat: in exitium sui, quod volebat, ita concitat. Mox a Perperna domitus & captus, & per deditiōem in vinculis habitus. Aquilius Asiatici belli reliquias confecit mixtis (nefas!) veneno fontibus ad deditiōem quarundam urbium. Quæ res ut maturam, ita infamem fecit victoriā: quippe quum contra fas deum, moresque majorum, medicaminibus impuris, in id tempus sacrosancta, Romana arma violasset.

*He mauled too the Army of Crassus the Prætor, and took him. But he mindful both of his Family and the Roman Name, blinds the Barbarian his Keeper, with his Staff; and so provokes him to the killing of him, which was what he proposed. Afterwards he was defeated and taken Prisoner by Perperna, and upon his Surrender clapped in Chains. Aquilius dispatched the Relicks of the Asiatick War, by infecting (O horrid Villainy!) their Springs with Poison, in order to force a Surrender from some Cities. Which Thing as it rendered his Conquest more expeditious, so did it render it infamous; since he defiled the Roman Arms till that Time pure, contrary to the Laws of the Gods, and the Customs of the old Romans, with poisonous Drugs.*

## LIBER III.

CAP. I. *Bellum Jugurthinum.*

**H**ÆC ad Orientem. Sed non ad Meridianam plagam eadem quies. Quis speraret post Carthaginem aliquod in Africa bellum? Atqui non leviter se Numidia concussit: & fuit in Jugurtha, quod post Annibalem timeretur. Quippe rex callidissimus populum Romanum armis inclytum & invictum opibus aggressus est: & citra spem omnium fortuna cessit, ut rex fraude præcipuus, fraude caperetur. Hic avo Masinissa, & Micipsa patre per adoptionem, quum interficere fratres statuisset, agitatus regni cupiditate, nec illos magis quam senatum populumque Romanum, quorum in fide & clientela regnum erat, metueret: primum scelus mandat insidiis: potitusque Hiempsalis capite, quum se

LIBER

**T**HES E Things were done in the East. But there was not the same Quiet in the Southern Quarter. Who would have expected any War in Africa after Carthage? But Numidia bestirred itself not a little: And there was in Jugurtha something to be feared, after Annibal. For that most subtle King attacked the Roman People, famous for Arms, and invincible, with his Money. And Fortune gave way to the Romans, beyond the Hopes of all People; so that the King, who excelled in Cunning, was trepanned by Cunning. He being descended from Masinissa, who was his Grandfather, and having Micipsa for his Father by Adoption, being resolved to kill his Brothers, pushed on by a Desire of the Kingdom, and not fearing them more than the Senate and People of Rome, under whose Protection and Vassalage the Kingdom was; he in the first Place orders his villainous Intention to be managed by way of a Plot: And having got Hiemp-

in

in Adherbalem convertisset, isque Romam profugisset, missa per legatos pecunia traxit in sententiam suam senatum. Et hæc fuit de nobis ejus prima victoria. Missos deinde qui regnum inter illum Adherbalemque dividerent, similiter aggressus, quum in Scauro ipsos Romani imperii mores expugnasset, inchoatum nefas perfecit audacius. Sed diu non latent scelera: corruptæ nefas legationis erupit: placuitque bello persequi parricidiam. Primus in Numidiam Calpurnius Bestia consul immittitur: sed rex, peritus fortius adversus Romanos aurum esse quam ferrum pacem emit. Cujus flagitii reus, quum interveniente publica fide a senatu accerferetur, pari audacia & venit, & competitorum imperii Massinissæ Massivam immisso percussore confecit. Hæc altera contra regem fuit causa bellandi: igitur sequens ultio mandatur Albino. Sed hujus quoque (pro dedecus!) ita corrumpit exercitum, ut voluntaria nostrorum fuga vinceret Numida, castrisque potiretur: addito etiam turpi fœdere, in pretium salutis, quem

sal's Head, and then turning upon Adherbal, and he flying to Rome, he brought the Senate to his Mind, by sending Money thither by his Embassadors. And this was his first Victory over us. And then attacking in the same Manner those that were sent to divide the Kingdom betwixt him and Adherbal, after he had overthrown the very Manners of the Roman Empire in Scaurus, he executed the villainous Project he had entered upon more boldly. But Wickedness does not lie long concealed: The wicked Trick of bribing the Deputation broke out. And it was resolved to prosecute the Parricide by a War. First, Calpurnius Bestia the Consul is sent into Numidia: But the King being sensible by Experience, that Gold was more effectual against the Romans, than the Sword, buys a Peace. With which Crime being charged, and, upon the Intervention of the publick Faith, being sent for to Rome by the Senate, with equal Boldness he both came, and dispatched, by an Assassin employed for the Purpose, Massiva, his Competitor for the Kingdom of Massinissa. This was another Occasion of making War against the King. Wherefore the following Revenge is committed to Albinus. But (O shameful!) the Numidian so corrupted his Army too, that he prevailed by the voluntary Flight of our Men, and took our Camp; a scandalous Treaty being likewise superadded to this for the Purchase of their

prius emerat, dimisit exercitum.

Eodem tempore in ultionem non tam imperii Romani, quam pudoris, Metellus affurgit: qui callidissime hostem nunc precibus, nunc minis, jam simulata, jam quasi vera fuga eludentem, artibus suis aggressus est. Agrorum atque vicorum populatione non contentus, in ipsa Numidiæ capita impetum fecit, & Zamam quidem frustra diu voluit; cæterum Thalam, gravem armis thesauroque regis, diripuit. Tunc urbibus exutum regem, & jam finium suorum, regnique fugitivum, per Mauros atque Getuliam sequebatur. Postremo Marius auctis admodum copiis, quum pro obscuritate generis sui capite censos sacramento adegisset, jam fuissem & faucium regem adortus, non facilius tamen vicit, quam si integrum & recentem. Hic & urbem Herculi conditam Capsam in media Africa sitam, anguibus arenisque vallatam, mira quadam felicitate superavit: & saxeo inditam monti Mulucham urbem per Ligurem, aditu arduo inaccessoque, pene-

Security, he dismisses the Army which he had before bought.

At the same Time Metellus rises up for the Revenge, not so much of the Roman Empire, as the public Shame: Who attacked by his own Arts the Enemy, who was imposing upon him, one while with humble Addresses, another by Threats, another by pretended Flight. Not content with the wasting of the Lands and Country. Towns, he made an Assault upon the principal Towns of Numidia, and for a long Time attempted Lama indeed in vain; however, he did plunder Thala, that was full of Arms, and the King's Treasure. And then pursued the King, stripped of all his Cities, and forced to fly his Country and Kingdom, through the Country of the Moors, and Getulia. At last Marius having considerably augmented the Army, when by Reason of the Obscurity of his own Birth he had listed the poorest of the People, attacked the King already defeated and disabled; yet he did not subdue him with more Ease, than if he had attacked him fresh and unfoiled. He with wonderful Success took the City Capsa, built by Hercules, situated in the Middle of Africa, and secured on all Sides by Snakes and Sands; and penetrated the City Mulucha, placed upon a rocky Mountain, by a Ligurian, the Way to it being steep and inaccessible. Soon after he defeated with great Slaughter, not only him, but

travit.



travit. Mox non ipsum modo, sed Bocchum quoque Mauritanicæ regem, jure sanguinis Numidam vindicantem apud oppidum Cirtam graviter cecidit. Qui ubi, diffusus rebus suis, alienæ cladis accessio fieri timet, pretium fœderis atque amiciticæ, regem facit. Sic fraudulentissimus regum, fraude fœderi sui in insidias deductus est, & Sullæ in manum traditus; tandemque operum catenis Jugurtham in triumpho populus Romanus aspexit. Sed ille quoque, quamvis victus & vinctus vidit urbem, quam venalem, & quandoque perituram, si habuisset emptorem, frustra cecinerat. Tamen ut venalis fuisset, habuit emptorem: & quum ille non evaserit, certum erit eam non esse perituram.

*Bocchus King of Mauritania from the Tye of Blood taking Occasion to stand by the Numidian Prince, near the Town of Cirta. Who, whilst diffident of his own Case, he is apprehensive of becoming an Accession to another's Ruin, makes the King the Price of a Treaty, and an Alliance with the Romans. Thus the most treacherous of Kings was, by the Perfidiousness of his Father-in-Law, drawn into a Snare, and delivered up into the Hands of Sulla; and at length the Roman People beheld in Triumph Jugurtha loaded with Chains. But he too, tho' defeated and bound, saw the City, which he had in vain foretold was to be sold, and would some time be sold, and would some time be ruined, if it had but a Chapman. Now suppose it was to have been sold, it had a Purchaser; and since he did not escape, it will be for ever certain, that it will never be ruined.*

## CAP. II.

*Bellum Allobrogicum.*

**S**IC ad meridiem populus Romanus. Multo atrocius, & multipliciter magis, & a Septentrione sævitum. Nihil hac plaga infestius. Atrox æelum, perinde ingenia.

**T**HUS the Roman People behaved in the South. There were much more terrible Doings, and in more Places, at once; in the North. Nothing is more violent than this Climate. The very Air is rugged, as well as the Tempers

Omni igitur tractu violentus hostis a dextris atque lævis, & medio Semtemtrionis, erupit. Prima trans Alpes arma nostra sensere Salyi quum de incurfionibus eorum fidissima atque amicissima civitas Massilia quereretur. Allobroges deinde, & Arverni, quum adversus eos similes Æduorum quærelæ opem & auxilium nostrum flagitarent. Varus victoriæ testis, Isaraque, & Vindelicus amnis, & impiger fluminum Rhodanus. Maximus barbaris terror elephantum fuere, immanitati gentium pares. Nil tam conspicuum in triumpho, quam rex ipse Bituitus, discoloribus in armis argenteoque carpento, qualis pugnauerat. Utriusque victoriæ quod quantumque gaudium fuerit, vel hinc existimari potest, quod & Domitius Ænobarbus & Fabius Maximus, ipsis quibus dimicaverant in locis, faxeas erexere turres, & desuper exornata armis hostilibus trophæa fixere: quum hic mos inusitatus fuerit nostris. Nunquam enim populus Romanus hostibus domitis victoriam suam exprobravit.

of the Natives. *The boisterous Enemy broke out up and down this Quarter; on the Right and Left, and the Middle. The Salyi felt our Arms the first of any People beyond the Alps, when that most faithful and most friendly City Massilia complained of their Inroads. And after them the Allobroges and Arverni, when the like Complaints of the Ædui against them called for our Aid and Assistance. Varus is a Witness of the Victory, the Rivers too, Isara and Vindelicus, and the Rhone the rapidest of all the Rivers. The Elephants were a great Terror to the Barbarians, and equal to the wild Temper of those Nations. There was nothing so conspicuous in the Triumph, as King Bituitus himself, in his parti-coloured Arms and Silver Chariot, just as he had fought. What and how great the Joy conceived for each Victory was, may be estimated from hence, that both Domitius Ænobarbus, and Fabius Maximus erected Stone Towers in the Places in which they had fought, and fixed Trophies upon them, dressed up with the Arms of the Enemy; whereas this Custom was not usual with us; for the Roman People never upbraided their conquered Enemies with their Conquest over them.*

C A P. III. *Bellum Cimbricum, Theutonicum, ac Tigurinum.*

**C**imbri, Theutoni, atque Tigurini, ab extremis Galliæ profugi, quum terras eorum inundasset Oceanus, novas sedes toto orbe quærebant; exclusivæ Gallia, & Hispania, quum in Italianam regyrarent, misere legatos in castra Silani; inde ad senatum, petentes, ut Martius populus aliquid sibi terræ daret quasi stipendium: cæterum, ut vellet, manibus atque armis suis uteretur. Sed quas daret terras populus Romanus agrariis legibus intra se dimicaturus? Repulsi igitur, quod nequiverant precibus, armis petere constituunt. Sed nec primum quidem impetum barbarorum Silanus, nec secundum Manlius, nec tertium Cæpio sustinere potuerunt. Omnes fugati, exuti castris. Actum erat, nisi Marius illi sæculo contigisset. Ille quoque non ausus congregari statim, militum tenuit in castris, donec invicta illa rabies, & impetus, quem pro virtute barbari habent, confe-

**T**HE Cimbri, Theutoni, and Tigurini, obliged to fly from the remotest Parts of Gaul, because the Ocean had overflowed their Country, were seeking for a new Settlement throughout the World; and being excluded Gaul and Spain, and taking a Wheel about into Italy, they sent Deputies into the Camp of Silanus, and from thence to the Senate, desiring, that so warlike a People would give them some Land as Pay, but use their Arms and Hands as they pleased. But what Lands could the Roman People give them, who were ready to fight amongst themselves about the Agrarian Laws? Wherefore being rejected, they resolved to obtain that by Arms, which they could not by their Prayers. But Silanus could neither withstand the first Assault of the Barbarians, nor Manlius the second, nor Cæpio the third. They were all routed and driven out of their Camp. All had gone to Ruin, if Marius had not chanced to live in that Age. He too durst not venture to engage immediately, but kept his Soldiers in the Camp, until that invincible Rage and Fury, which the Barbarians reckon for Courage, declined. Wherefore they marched off bantering, and

nescerat.

nescerat. Recessere igitur increpantes, & (tanta erat capiendæ urbis fiducia) consulentes, si quid ad uxores suas mandarent. Nec segnius, quam minati fuerant, tripercito agmine per Alpes, id est, claustra Italiae, ferebantur. Marius mira statim velocitate occupatis compendiis, prævenit hostem: priorisque Theutonos sub ipsis Alpium radicibus allequutus, in loco, quem Aquas Sextias vocant, quo, fidem numinum! prælio oppressit. Vallem fluviumque medium hostes tenebant; nostris aquarum nulla copia: consultone id egerit imperator an errorem in consilium verterit, dubium; certe necessitate aucta virtus, causa victoriæ fuit. Nam flagitante aquam exercitu, *Viri, inquit, estis, en illic habetis.* Itaque tanto ardore pugnatum est, eaque cædes hostium fuit, ut victor Romanus de cruento flumine non plus aquæ biberit, quam sanguinis Barbarorum. Certe rex ipse Theutobochus quaternos senosque equos transire solitus, vix unum quum fugeret ascendit proximoque in saltu comprehensus, insigne spectaculum trium-

(such was their confident Expectation of taking the City) asking them, If they had any Messages to send to their Wives. Nor did they move less briskly than they threatened, in three Bodies thro' the Alps, that is, the Barrier of Italy. Marius having taken a nearer Rout, immediately with wonderful Expedition gets before the Enemy. And coming up first with the Theutoni at the very Roots of the Alps, in what a Battle (O the Faith of the Gods!) did he defeat them, in a Place called *Aquæ Sextiæ*? The Enemy were possessed of a Valley, and a River running through the Middle of it. Our Men had no Plenty of Water. Whether the General did it on Purpose, or turned a Mistake to a Stratagem, is uncertain. However, their Courage being improved by Necessity, was the Occasion of the Victory. For the Army being importunate for Water, You are Men, says he, look there you have it. Wherefore they fought with so much Fury, and such was the Slaughter of the Enemy, that the victorious Romans did not drink more Water than Blood of the Barbarians, out of the bloody River. It is certain, that the King himself, Theutobochus, who was used to vault over four or six Horses, with much ado mounted one when he fled; and being seized in the next Forest, was a remarkable Spectacle in the Triumph: For being a Man of extraordinary Tallness, he appear-

phi fuit: quippe vir proceritatis eximiæ super trophæa ipsa eminebat. Sublatis funditus Theutonibus, in Cimbro convertitur. Hi jam (quis crederet?) per hycem, quæ altius Alpes levat, Tridentinis jugis in Italiam, provoluti ruina descenderant ad Atesim. Flumen non ponte, nec navibus, sed quadam stoliditate barbarica, primum corporibus aggressi; postquam retinere amnem manibus & clypeis frustra tentaverant, ingesta obrutum sylvâ transilivere: & si statim infesto agmine urbem petissent, grande discrimen esset: sed in Venetia, quo fere tractu Italia mollissima est, ipsa soli cœlique clementia robur elanguit. Ad hoc, panis usu, carnisque coctæ, & dulcedine vini mitigatos, Marius in tempore aggressus est. Jam diem pugnæ a nostro imperatore petierunt, & sic proximum dedit. In patentissimo, quem Radium vocant, campo concurrere. Millia inde ad sexaginta ceciderunt; hinc trecentis minus: per omnem diem conciditur barbarus. Istic quoque imperator addiderat virtuti dolum, sequutus Annibalem, artemque Cannarum: pri-

*ed above the Trophies. The Theutani being utterly cut off, he turns upon the Cimbrians. These already (who would believe it?) in the Winter Time, which raises the Alps higher, pouring down with impetuous Haste from the Tridentine Mountains into Italy, had descended to the Adige. Attempting the Passage of the River, not by Bridge, nor Ships, but with barbarous Folly, with their Bodies, after they had in vain tried to stop the River with their Hands and Shields, they passed it, buried under a perfect Wood thrown into it. And if they had immediately marched for the City with their Army prepared for Fight, the Danger would have been great; but in Venetia, in which Quarter Italy is the softest, their Strength fell away by the very Agreeableness of the Soil and the Air. Besides this, Marius fell upon them just in Time, after they had been softened by the Use of Bread, and dressed Flesh, and the Pleasantness of the Wine. They now desired a Day for Battle from our General, and he gave them the next. They engaged in a very wide Plain, which they call the Radian. About sixty thousand fell on that Side, less than three hundred on this: The Barbarians are cut down all the Day long. The General too had added a Wile to his other good Conduct, in Imitation of Annibal, and the Stratagem, at Cannæ. In the first Place to come upon the Enemy by Surprise, having*  
 mum,

mum, nebulosum nactus  
 diem, ut hosti inopinatus  
 occurreret, tum ventosum  
 quoque, ut pulvis in  
 oculos & ora, ferretur:  
 tum acie conversa in Ori-  
 entem, ut, quod ex  
 captivis mox cognitum  
 est, ex splendore galearum,  
 ac repercussu, quasi  
 ardere cœlum videretur.  
 Nec minor cum uxori-  
 bus eorum pugna, quam  
 cum ipsis fuit: quum ob-  
 jectis undique plaustris,  
 atque carpentis, altæ de-  
 super quasi e turribus,  
 lanceis contisque pugna-  
 rent. Perinde speciosa  
 mors earum fuit quam  
 pugna. Nam quum mis-  
 sa ad Marium legatione,  
 libertatem ac sacerdotium  
 non impetrassent,  
 (nec fas erat) suffocatis  
 elisisque passim infantibus  
 suis, aut mutuis concidere  
 vulneribus, aut vinculo e  
 crinibus suis facto, ab  
 arboribus, jugisque  
 plaustrorum penderunt.  
 Bojorix rex in acie  
 dimicans impigre, nec  
 inultus, occubuit.  
 Tertia Tigurinorum  
 manus, quæ quasi subsidio  
 Noricos infederat Alpi-  
 um tumultos, in diversa  
 lapsi, fuga ignobili & latro-  
 ciniis evanuit. Hunc  
 tam lætum, tamque fel-  
 licem liberatæ Italiæ, as-  
 fertique imperii nuncium,  
 non per homines, ut

*got for the Purpose a foggy Day,  
 and windy too, so that the Dust  
 was driven into the Eyes and  
 Mouths of the Enemy; and  
 then in turning his Army to the  
 East, so that, as was afterwards  
 known from the Prisoners, the  
 Heavens seemed to be on Fire,  
 from the Shining of the Roman  
 Helmets, and the Reflection of  
 the Rays of the Sun. Nor was  
 there a less Contest with their  
 Wives, than with themselves,  
 whilst they fought with Lances  
 and Poles from the Waggon and  
 Chariots, which had been drawn  
 up on all Hands, as it were from  
 Towers. Their Death was as  
 glorious as their Fight. For  
 when upon sending an Embassy  
 to Marius, they could not obtain  
 their Liberty, and some Priest-  
 hood they petitioned for, (nor  
 was it lawful) strangling and  
 knocking on the Head their Chil-  
 dren every where, they either  
 fell by mutual Wounds, or mak-  
 ing Ropes of their Hair hang-  
 ed themselves upon Trees, and  
 the Yokes of their Carts. Their  
 King Bojarix died fighting in  
 the Battle strenuously, and not  
 unrevenged. The third Body,  
 which was that of the Tigurini,  
 which, as it were by Way of Re-  
 served Troops, had posted them-  
 selves in the Norican Hills in the  
 Alps, slipping off different Ways,  
 by obscure Flight and Robberies,  
 at last quite vanished. The Ro-  
 man People received this so joy-  
 ful, and so happy News of the  
 delivering of Italy, and securing  
 the Empire, not by Men, as they  
 solebat,*

solebat, populus Romanus accepit; sed per ipsos, si credere fas est, deos. Quippe eodem die, quo gesta res est, visi pro æde Castoris & Pollucis, juvenes laureati prætori literas tradere: frequensque in spectaculo rumor, *Victoriæ Cimbricæ, feliciter*, dixit. Quo quid admirabilius, quid insignius fieri potest; Quippe velut elata montibus suis Roma spectaculo belli interesset, quod in gladiatorio munere fieri solet, uno eodemque momento, quum in acie Cimbri succumberent, populus in urbe plaudebat.

*used to do; but by the Gods themselves, if it be lawful to believe it. For the same Day, upon which this Action was performed, two young Men with Laurel Crowns on, were seen to deliver a Letter to the Prætor in the Temple of Castor and Pollux, and a common Cry in the Theatre proclaimed the public Happiness on account of the Victory over the Cimbrians. Than which what can be more wonderful, what more remarkable? For as if Rome, raised upon its Mountains, had been present at the Sight of the Battle, what uses to happen in a public Entertainment of Gladiators, the People were clapping their Hands in the City, at one and the same Moment, when the Cimbrians were falling in the Field of Battle.*

#### C A P. IV. *Bellum Thracium.*

POST Macedonas, si diis placet, Thracæ rebellabant, ipsi quondam tributarii Macedonum: nec in proximas modo provincias contenti incurrere Thessaliam atque Dalmatiam, in Adriaticum mare usque venerunt; eoque sine contenti, quasi interveniente natura, contorta in ipsas aquas tela miserunt. Nihil interim per id omne tem-

*AFTER the Macedonians, the Thracians, if it please the Gods, rebelled, who themselves had been formerly tributary to the Macedonians; and not content to make an Inroad into the neighbouring Provinces of Thessaly and Dalmatia, they came as far as the Adriatick Sea; and content with that Boundary, Nature as it were interposing to stop their Progress, they threw their Weapons with all their Might into the Waters. In the*

pus

pus residuum crudelitatis fuit in captivos sævientibus: litare diis sanguinem humanum: bibere in ossibus capitum: cujusquomodì ludibrio fœdare mortem tam igni quam fumo: partus quoque gravidarum extorquere tormentis. Sævissimi omnium Thracum Scordisci fuere: sed calliditas quoque ad robur accesserat. Sylvarum & montium situs cum ingenio consentiebant. Itaque non fusus modo ab his, aut fugatus, sed (simile prodigio) omnino totus interceptus exercitus, quem duxerat Cato. Didius vagos & libera populatione diffusos, intra suam repulit Thraciam. Drusus ulterius egit, & vetuit transire Danubium. Minutius toto vastavit Hebro, multis quidem amissis, dum perfidum glacie flumen equitatur. Piso Rhodopen Caucasumque penetravit. Curio Dacia tenuis venit: sed tenebras saltuum expavit. Appius in Sarmatas usque pervenit; Lucullus ad terminum gentium Tanaim, lacumque Mæotim. Nec aliter cruentissimi hostium, quam suis moribus domiti; quippe in captivos igne ferroque sæviturum est. Sed nihil Bar-

mean Time nothing of Cruelty was left unpractised by them in their Fury upon the Prisoners. They offered human Blood to the Gods, drank in Men's Skulls, and made Death more dismal by cruel Mockeries of all Kinds both by Fire and Smoke; and forced away the Factus's of Women with Child by Tortures. The Scordisci were the most savage of all the Thracians; but Cunning was added to their Strength. The Situation of the Woods and Mountains agreed with their Temper. Wherefore the whole Army, which Cato commanded, was not only routed by them, or put to Flight, but (what is like a Prodigy) was entirely taken. Didius repulsed them, scattered and dispersed in an unrestrained Ravage of the Country, within their own Country of Thrace. Drusus drove them further, and hindered them from passing the Danube. Minutius made Havock of them all along the Banks of the Hebrus, many of his Men being lost, whilst the River that perfidiously deceived them with its Ice, is attempted by the Horse. Piso penetrated Rhodope and Caucasus. Curio went as far as Dacia, but was afraid of entering the Darkness of their Forests. Appius advanced as far as the Sarmatians; Lucullus to the Boundaries of all Nations, Tanais, and the Lake Mæotis. Nor where the bloodiest of all Enemies any otherwise to be conquered, than by their own Practices. For the utmost Fury was

baris



baris atrocius visum est, quam quod abscissis manibus relictis, vivere superstitis pœnæ suæ jubebantur.

*exerted upon the Prisoners by Fire and Sword. But nothing seemed more horrid to these Barbarians, than that being left with their Hands cut off, they were obliged to live and survive their Punishment.*

CAP. V. *Bellum Mithridaticum.*

**P**ONTICÆ gentes ad Septentrionem in mare finistrum jacent, a Pontico cognominatæ mari. Harum gentium atque regionum rex antiquissimus Æctas : post Artabazes, a septem Persis oriundus : inde Mithridates omnium longe maximus ; quippe quum quatuor Pyrrho, decem & septem anni Annibali suffecerint ; ille per quadraginta annos restitit, donec tribus ingentibus bellis subactus ; felicitate Syllæ, virtute Luculli, magnitudine Pompeii consumeretur. Causam quidem illius belli prætenderat apud Cassium legatum, *attrectari terminas suos a Nicomede Bithynico* : cæterum elatus animis ingentibus, Asiæ totius, & si posset, Eûropæ, cupiditate flagrabat. Spem ac fiduciam dabant nostra vitia. Quippe quum

**T**HE Pontick Nations lie to the North along the Sea to the Left, so denominated from the Pontick Sea. The most auctient King of these Nations and Countries was Æctas. Long after was Artabazes, descended from one of the seven Persians : Afterwards Mithridates, far the greatest of them all : For whereas four Years sufficed Pyrrhus, and seventeen Annibal, he held out for forty Years, 'till being subdued in three great Wars, he was quite reduced, by the good Fortune of Sylla, the Bravery of Lucullus, and the Greatness of Pompey. He alledged indeed as a Reason for that War to the Embassador Cassius, that his Borders were seized by Nicomedes of Bithynia ; but being elevated with a prodigious Pride, he was inflamed with a Desire of grasping all Asia, and, if he could, all Europe. Our Vices gave him these Hopes and Confidence ; for whilst we were divided by civil Wars, the Opportunity tempted him : And Marius, Sylla, and Sertorius at a Distance  
civi-

civilibus bellis disjunge-  
remur, inevitabat occa-  
sio: nudumque imperii  
latus ostentabant præcul  
Marius, Sylla, Sertori-  
us. Inter hæc reipub-  
licæ vulnera, & hos tu-  
multus, repente, quasi  
captato tempore, in las-  
sos simul atque districtos,  
subitus turbo Pontici bel-  
li, ab ultima veluti spe-  
cula Septentrionis eru-  
pit. Primus statim imp-  
petus belli Bithyniam  
rapuit. Asia deinde pari  
terrore correpta est. Nec  
cunctanter ad regem ab  
urbibus nostris, populif-  
que descitum est. Ad-  
erat, instabat, sævitia  
quasi virtute utebatur.  
Nam quid atrocius uno  
ejus edicto, quum om-  
nes, qui in Asia forent,  
Romanæ civitatis ho-  
mines interfici jussit?  
Tum quidem domus,  
templa & aræ, humana  
omnia atque divina jura  
violata sunt. Sed hic  
terror Asiæ, Europam  
quoque regi aperiebat.  
Itaque missis Archelao,  
Neoptolemoque præfec-  
tis, excepta Rhodo, quæ  
pro nobis firmius stetit,  
cæterum Cyclades, De-  
los, Eubœa, & ipsum  
Græciæ decus Athenæ,  
tenebantur. Italiam jam,  
ipsamque urbem Romam,  
regius terror afflabat.  
Itaque Lucius Sylla fe-

*shewed him that Side of the Em-  
pire exposed. During these Ca-  
lamities and Distractions of the  
Roman Commonwealth, on a  
sudden, as if the Opportunity  
had been watched, the unexpect-  
ed Hurricane of the Pontick  
War broke out as it were from  
a remote Watch-Tower of the  
North, upon the Romans now  
weary, and at the same Time  
full-handed. The first fury of  
the War immediately carried Bi-  
thynia. Afterwards Asia was  
carried with the like Terror.  
And without Delay, a Revolt  
was made by our Cities and Peo-  
ple to the King. He was every  
where, and very pressing, and  
made use of Cruelty as a Virtue.  
For what could be more dismal  
than one Proclamation of his,  
when he ordered all that were in  
Asia, Freeman of the City of Rome,  
to be slain? Then indeed Houses,  
Temples, and Altars, all Rights,  
Human and Divine, were viol-  
ated. But this Terror struck  
upon Asia, opened Europe too  
to the King. Wherefore send-  
ing two Governours, Archelaus  
and Neoptolemus, except Rhodes  
that stood firmly for us, the Cy-  
clades, Delos, Eubœa, and the  
Glory of Greece Athens, were  
taken in. The Terror of the  
King now reached Italy, and the  
City Rome itself. Wherefore  
Lucius Sylla makes Hastè, a Man  
excellent in Arms; and did, as  
it were with a Hand, with  
equal Violence repel him rush-  
ing on. And first forced the City of  
Athens, (who would believe it?)*

*stinat,*

stinat, vir armis optimus; parique violentia ruentem ulterius hostem, quadam quasi manu, repulit: primumque Athenas urbem (quis crederet?) frugum parentem, obsidione ac fame ad humanos cibos compulit. Mox subruto Piræei portu, sex quoque & amplius muris, postquam domuerat ingrattissimos, ut ipse dixit, hominum, in honorem tamen mortuorum, sacris suis famæque donavit. Mox quum Eubœa, atque Bœotia, præsidia regis dispulisset, omnes copias, uno apud Chæroneam, apud Orchomenon, altero bello dissipavit: statimque in Asiam transfessus, ipsum opprimit; & debellatum foret, nisi de Mithridate triumphare cito, quam vere, maluisset. Ac tunc quidem hunc Asiæ statum Sylla dederat. Ictum cum Ponticis fœdus. Recepit Bithyniam a rege Nicomede, ab Ariobarzane Cappadociam: ac sic erat Asia rursus nostra, ut cœperat: Mithridates tantum repulsus. Itaque non fregit ea res Ponticos, sed incendit. Quippe rex Asia & Europa quodammodo inescatus, non jam quasi alienam,

*the Mother of Corn, by Siege and Famine, to eat Man's Flesh. Soon after the Harbour of Pyræus being undermined, with six Walls too and more, after he had reduced the most ungrateful of Men, as he called them, yet in respect of the Dead, in Consideration of their Religion and Fame, he gave them Quarter. Soon after, when he had driven the King's Garrisons out of Eubœa and Bœotia, he overthrew the King's Forces in one Battle at Chæronea, and another at Orchomenos; and immediately going over into Asia, defeats him: And an entire End might have been made of the War, but that he chose rather to triumph over Mithridates soon, than effectually. And then truly Sylla made this Settlement of matters in Asia. A Treaty was concluded with the Pontici. He received Bithynia from King Nichomedes, Cappadocia from Ariobarzanes. And thus again Asia was ours, as it had begun to be: But Mithridates was only repulsed. Wherefore that Matter did not dispirit the Pontici, but only enflame them. For the King being tempted with Asia and Europe, as it were with a Bait, now re-demanded each, not as belonging to another, but because he had lost them, as taken from him, by Right of War. Wherefore, as Fires that are not effectually put out, break forth again with a greater Flame, so he came afresh, having increased his Troops to a*  
sed

sed quia amiserat, quasi raptam, belli jure repetebat. Igitur ut extincta parum fideliter incendia majore flamma reviviscunt; ita illé de integrá, auctis majorem in modum copiis, tota denique regni sui mole, in Asiam rursus mari, terra, fluminibusque veniebat. Cyzicum nobilis civitas, arce, mœnibus, portu, turribusque marmoreis, Asiaticæ plagæ littora illustrat. Hanc ille quasi alteram Romam toto invaserat bello: sed fiduciam oppidanis resistendi nunciis fecit, docens adventare Lucillum, qui (horribile dictu!) per medias hostium naves utre suspensus, & pedibus iter adgubernans, videntibus procul quasi marina Pisrix evaserat. Mox clade conversa, quum ex mora obsidentem regem fames, & ex fame pestilentia, urgeret, recedentem Lucillum asenuiter, adeoque cecidit, ut Granicus & Æsopus annes cruenti redderentur. Rex callidus Romanæque avaritiæ peritus, spargi a fugientibus sarcinas & pecuniam iussit, qua sequentes moraretur. Nec felicior in mari, quam in terra fuga. Quippe centum am-

great Degree, in short, with all the Power of his Kingdom; into Asia again, by Land, by Sea, and Rivers. The noble City of Cyzicum beautifies the Shore of Asia with its Castle, Walls, Harbour, and Marble Towers. He had fallen upon this City, as if it had been another Rome, with all his Strength of War; but a Messenger gave the Townsmen Encouragement to hold out, by telling them that Lucillus was coming, who (it is dreadful to say!) supported by a Leather Bottle, and steering his Course by his Feet, passed through the Midst of the Enemy's Ships, appearing to those that saw him at a Distance, as a Sea-Fish called Pisrix. Soon after, the Distress of War being turned upon the King, a Famine bearing hard upon him, whilst he was engaged in the Siege, occasioned by the long Continuance of it, and from the Famine a Plague, Lucillus overtakes him in his Retreat, and so mauled him, that the Rivers Granicus and Æsopus were rendered bloody. The King being crafty, and well acquainted with the Roman Avarice, ordered the Baggage and Money to be thrown about them as they fled, whereby to hinder the Pursuers. Nor was his Flight more fortunate by Sea, than by Land: For a Storm attacking in the Pontick Sea a Fleet of above an hundred Ships, tore it with such miserable Havock, that it produced the Appearance of a Sea-fight, just as  
plius

plius navium classen, apparatusque belli gravem, in Pontico mari aggressa tempestas, tam foeda strage laceravit, ut navalis belli instar efficeret: plane quasi Lucullus quodam cum fluctibus procellisque commercio, debellandum tradidisse regem ventis videretur. Attritæ jam omnes validissimi regni vires erant sed animus malis augebatur. Itaque conversus ad proximas gentes, totum pæne Orientem, ac Septentrionem ruina sua involvit. Iberi, Caspii, Albani, & utræque sollicitabantur Armeniæ: perque omnia & decus, & nomen, & titulos Pompeio suo Fortuna quærebat. Qui ubi novis motibus ardere Asiam videt, aliosque ex aliis prodire reges: nihil cunctandum ratus, priusquam inter se gentium robora coirent, statim ponte navibus facto, omnium ante se primus transit Euphratem: regemque fugientem media nocte Armenia (quanta felicitas viri!) uno prælio confecit. Nocturna ea dimicatio fuit, & luna in partibus; quippe quasi commilitans, quum a tergo se hostibus, a facie Romanis præbuisset, Pontici per errorem longius cadentes umbras suas quasi

*if Lucullus seemed by Compact with the Waves and Storms, to have delivered the King to the Winds to conquer. All the Strength of his powerful Kingdom was now much impaired; but his Courage was increased by his Misfortunes. Wherefore applying to the neighbouring Nations, he involved almost all the East and North in his Ruin. The Iberians, Caspians, Albanians, and both the Armenia's were solicited by him; and Fortune sought for her Pompey, Glory, and Name, and Titles, in all Places. Who when he found Asia inflamed with new Commotions, and Kings after Kings starting up, thinking he ought not to delay, before the Strength of these Nations united together, immediately making a Bridge with ships, he first of all before him passes the Euphrates; and overtaking the King in the Middle of Armenia (how great was the Man's good Fortune!) he did his Business in one Battle. The Engagement was in the Night, and the Moon on his Side; for as if fighting for him, being in the Enemy's Rear, and upon the Front of the Romans, the Pontici by a Mistake discharged their Weapons at their own Shadows, that fell a great Way from them, as if they had been the Enemy's Bodies. And Mithridates was indeed entirely subdued that Night; for he was able to do nothing after, though he tried all Things, after the Manner of Snakes, who after the*

H hostium

hostium corpora petebant. Et Mithridates quidem nocte illa debellatus est, nihil enim postea valuit; quanquam omnia expertus, more anguim, qui obruto capite, postremum cauda minantur. Quippe quum effugisset hostem Colchos, Siciliae quoque littora, & Campaniam nostram subito adventu terrere voluit: Colchis tenus jungere Bosphoroni; inde per Thraciam, Macedoniam & Græciam transilire; sic Italiam nec opinatus invadere, tantum cogitavit. Nam per defectionem civium, Pharnacisque filii scelere præventus, male tentatum veneno spiritum ferro expulit.

Cnæus interim Magnus rebelles Asiæ reliquias sequens, per diversarum gentium terrarumque volitabat. Nam sub Orientem sequutus Armenios, captis ipso capite gentis Artaxatis, supplicem iussit regnare Tigranem. At in Septentrionem Scythicum, iter tanquam in mari stellis sequutus, Colchos cecidit; ignovit Iberiæ; pepercit Albanis; regem Colchorum, Orodem, positus sub ipso Caucaſo castris, iussit in plana descendere: Arthocen, qui Iberis imperabat, & obsides liberos dare. Orodem etiam re-

*Head has been battered to Pieces, at last threaten with their Tail. For having escaped his Enemy to Colchus, he designed to have alarmed the Coasts of Sicily and our Campania, by his sudden coming, to proceed too from the Colchians to the Bosphorus, and from thence to pass through Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece. Thus he designed unexpectedly to fall upon Italy, but designed it only: For being prevented by the Rebellion of his Subjects, and the Villainy of his Son Pharnaces, he at last forced out his Life by the Sword, which he had in vain attempted by Poison.*

*In the mean Time Cnæus Magnus, pursuing the Remains of the Rebels of Asia, flew through several Nations and Countries. For coming up with the Armenians in the East, and taking Artaxata the Capital of the Nation, he suffered Tigranes upon his Submission to reign. But pursuing his Way northward for Scythia, as it were in the Sea, by the Stars, he overthrew the Colchians, gave Quarter to Iberia, and spared the Albanians; and pitching his Camp close by Mount Caucasus, he commanded the King of the Colchians, Orodes, to come down upon the low Grounds, and ordered Arthoces, who reigned over the Iberians, to give his Children as Hostages.*

muneratus est, ultro ab Albania sua lectulum aureum, & alia dona mittentem. Necnon & in meridiem verso agmine, Libanum Syriæ, Damascusque transgressus, per nemora illa odorata, per thuris & balsami sylvas, Romana circumtulit signa. Arabes, si quid imperaret, præsto fuere. Hierosolymam defendere tentavere Judæi; verum hanc quoque intravit, & vidit illud grande impiæ gentis arcanum patens, sub aureo vitem cælo. Dissidentibusque de regno fratribus, arbiter factus, regnare iussit Hyrcanum. Aristobulo, quia renuebat eam rem, catenas dedit. Sic Pompeio duce, populus Romanus totam, qua latissima est, Asiam pervagatus, quam extremam habebat imperii provinciam, mediam fecit. Exceptis quippe Parthis, qui foedus maluerunt, & Indis, qui adhuc nos non noverant; omnis Asia inter Rubrum mare, & Caspium, & Oceanum, Pompeianis domita vel oppressa signis, tenebatur.

*He requited Orodes too, who sent him from his Country of Albania a Gold Bed, and other Presents. Turning his Army to the South, and passing Libanus, a Mountain of Syria and Damascus, he carried the Roman Standards through those odoriferous Groves, and through Woods of Frankincense and Balm. The Arabians waited upon him, if he had any Commands for them. The Jews attempted to defend Jerusalem; but he entered this City too, and saw that grand Secret of the impious Nation, a Vine under a golden Heaven. And being chosen Judge betwixt the two Brothers that were in Dispute about the Kingdom, he ordered Hyrcanus to reign and clapped Aristobulus in Chains, because he refused to comply with it. Thus the Roman People, under their General Pompey, having traversed all Asia where it is widest, made that the middlemost Province of their Empire, which before they had for the most remote. For excepting the Parthians, who chose to come to a Treaty rather, and the Indians, who as yet had not known us, all Asia betwixt the Red Sea and the Ocean was conquered, subdued, and seized by Pompey's Arms.*

CAP. VI. *Bellum Piraticum.*

**I**Nterim dum populus Romanus per diversa terrarum distractus est, Cilices invaserant maria: sublatesque commerciis, rupto foedere generis humani, sic maria bello, quasi tempestate, præcluserant. Audaciam perditis furiosisque latronibus dabat inquieta Mithridatis præliis Asia: dum sub alieni belli tumultu, exteriq; regis invidia, impune grassantur. Ac primum duce Isidoro, non contenti proximo mari, Cretam inter, & Cyrenen, & Achaiam, atque Maleum, quod a spoliis Aureum ipsi vocavere, latrocinebantur: missusque in eos Publius Servilius, quamvis leves & fugaces myoparones gravi & martia classe turbaret, non inruenta victoria superat. Sed nec mari submovisse, contentus, validissimas urbes eorum, & diutina præda abundantes, Phaselin & Olympon, evertit, Isaurumque ipsam arcem Ciliciæ: unde confcius sibi magni laboris, Isaurici cognomen adamavit. Non ideo tamen tot cladibus domiti, terra se continere potuerunt:

**I**N the mean Time, whilst the Roman People were engaged in several Parts of the World, the Cilicians had invaded the Seas, and by the Destruction of Commerce, and the Violation of the common Agreement of Mankind, had so shut up the Seas by War, as it were by a Storm. Asia, that was disturbed by the Battles of Mithridates, put this Boldness into these desperate and furious Robbers: Whilst they proceed in their Villainy unpunished. under Cover of the Confusion of a War raised by others, and the Odium of a foreign Prince. And first under their Leader Isidorus, not content with the neighbouring Sea, they robbed betwixt Crete and Cyrene, and Achaia. and the Malean Bay, which they called the Golden Bay, from the Booty they got there. And P. Servilius being sent against them, tho' he soon put into Disorder those light and nimble Myoparones, with his heavy and martial Fleet, prevails against them by a Victory that was not without a good deal of Bloodshed. But being not content with driving them out of the Sea, he destroyed their strongest Cities, that abounded with Plunder, which had been a long Time in getting, Phaselis and Olympos, and Isaurus the very Citadel of Cilicia: From whence, being confcious to himself of the great Fa-  
sed



sed ut quædam animalia, quibus aquam terramque incolendi gemina natura est, sub ipso hostis recessu, impatientes soli, in aquas suas resiliuerunt; & aliquanto latius quam prius. Sic ille quoque ante felix, dignus nunc victoria Pompeius visus est; & Mithridaticæ provinciæ facta accessio.

Ille dispersam toto mari pestem, semel & in perpetuum volens extinguere divino quodam apparatu aggressus est. Quippe cum classibus suis & socialibus Rhodiorum abundaret, pluribus legatis atque præfectis utraque Ponti & Oceani ora complexus est. Gellius Tusco mari impositus; Plotius Siculo. Gratilius Ligusticum sinum, Pompeius Gallicum obsedit, Torquatus Balearicum, Tiberius Nero Gaditanum fretum, qua primum maris nostri limen aperitur; Lentulus Libyicum; Marcellinus Ægyptium; Pompeii juvenes Adriaticum; Varro Terentius Ægeum & Ponticum; Pamphilius Metellus; Asiaticum Cæpio; ipsas Propontidis fauces

of the Work, he became fond of the Name of Isauricus: But though they had been reduced by so many Losses, yet they could not keep themselves upon Land: But as some Animals, whose Nature is twofold for the inhabiting of Water and Land, upon the withdrawing of the Enemy, not able to endure the Land, they leaped back again into the Waters, and spread somewhat more widely than before: So that Pompey, who had before been fortunate, now appeared worthy of his Victory, and this War was made an Addition to the Province of Mithridates.

He being desirous at once and for ever to destroy this Plague, that was dispersed all the Sea over, attacked them with Preparations of a wonderful Nature. For abounding in Fleets of his own, and those of our Allies the Rhodians, he secured both the Mouths of Pontus and the Ocean, by several Deputies and Commanders: Gellius was posted in the Tuscan Sea, Plotius in the Sicilian. Gratilius lay upon the Watch in the Ligustick Bay, Pompey in the Gallick, Torquatus in the Balearick, Tiberius Nero in the Faro of Gades, where the first Entrance into our Sea opens; Lentulus in the Libyan, Marcellinus in the Ægyptian, the young Pompeys in the Adriatick, Varro Terentius in the Ægean and Pontick Sea, Metellus in the Pamphylian, Cæpio in the Asiatick; and Porcius Cato blocked up the Entrance of the Propontis, as it were a Gate, with his Ships  
Portius

Porcius Cato sic obditis navibus, quasi portam obseravit. Sic per omnes æquoris portus, sinus, latebras, recessus, promontoria, freta, peninsulas, quicquid piratarum, fuit, quadam indagine inclusum & oppressum est. Ipse Pompeius in originem fontemque belli Ciliciam versus est: nec hostes detrectavere certamen, non ex fiducia, sed quia oppressi erant, ausi videbantur. Sed nihil tamen amplius, quam ut ad primum ictum concurrerent. Mox ubi circumfusa undique rostra viderunt, abjectis statim telis, remisque, plausu undiq; pari, quod supplicantium signum fuit, vitam petiverunt. Non alias tam incruenta victoria usi unquam sumus: sed nec fidelior in posterum reperta gens ulla est. Idque prospectum singulari consilio ducis qui maritimum genus a conspectu longe removit maris, & mediterraneis agris quasi obligavit. Eodemque tempore & usum maris navibus recuperavit, & terræ homines suos reddidit. Quid prius in hac mirere victoria? velocitatem, quod quadragesimo die parta est? an felicitatem, quod ne

clapped against it. Thus whatsoever Pirates there were through all the Harbours of the Sea, the Bays, skulking Places, Recesses, Promontories, narrow Seas, and Peninsulas, were inclosed as it were within Nets, and reduced. Pompey himself proceeded against the Original and Spring of the War, Cilicia. Nor did the Enemy decline Battle, not out of any Assurance of Success, but because they were surprized, they seemed daring. But yet they went no further, than just to engage for a single Stroke. Presently when they saw the Rostra drawn round them on all Sides, immediately throwing down their Arms and Oars, they begged for Life with an unanimous clapping of Hands in all Quarters which was with them a Sign of Supplicants. We never at any Time got a Victory with so little Bloodshed. But neither was any Nation ever found more faithful for the Time following. And that was taken Care of by the singular good Contrivance of the General, who removed this Sea-faring People far from the Sight of the Sea, and pinned them down as it were in the Inland Country: And at the same Time recovered the Use of the Sea for Ships, and restored the Land its Men. What can you admire most in this Victory? The Expedition, because it was obtained in forty Days' Time? or the good Fortune of it, that not so much as one Ship was lost? or indeed the Durableness of it,

una

una quidem navis amissa, - *because there were no more Pi-*  
*rates?*  
 est? an vero perpetuita-  
 tem, quod amplius pira-  
 tæ non fuerunt?

C A P. VII. *Bellum Creticum.*

Creticum bellum, si  
 vera volumus nosce-  
 re, nos fecimus; sola  
 vincendi nobilem insu-  
 lam cupiditate. Favisse  
 Mithridati videbatur:  
 hoc placuit armis vindic-  
 care. Primus invasit insu-  
 lam Marcus Antonius,  
 cum ingenti quidem vic-  
 toriæ spe atque fiducia,  
 adeo ut plures catenas  
 in navibus, quam arma  
 portaret. Dedit itaque  
 pœnas recordiæ. Nam  
 pleraque naves interce-  
 pere hostes: captivæque  
 corpora religata velis ac  
 funibus pependere: ac  
 sic velificantes trium-  
 phantium in modum  
 Crètes portibus suis ad-  
 remigaverunt. Metellus  
 deinde totam insulam  
 igni ferroque populatus,  
 intra castella & urbes  
 redegit, & Cnossum, &  
 Erithræam, & ut Græci  
 dicere solent, *urbium*  
*matrem* Cydoniam: a-  
 deoque sæve in captivos  
 consulebatur, ut veneno  
 se plerique conficerent;  
 alii deditionem suam ad  
 Pompeium absentem

*WE* occasioned the Cretian  
 War, if we would acknow-  
 ledge the Truth, from a Desire  
 only of conquering that noble  
 Island. It seemed to have favour-  
 ed Mithridates. It was resolved  
 to revenge this by Arms. First  
 Mark Antony invaded the Island,  
 and indeed with huge Hopes and  
 Confidence of Success; so that he  
 carried more Chains than Arms  
 in his Ships. Wherefore he suf-  
 fered the Punishment due to his  
 Madness. For the Enemies snap-  
 ped most of the Ships, and the Bo-  
 dies of the Prisoners hung tied up  
 upon the sails and Ropes. And  
 thus the Cretians spread their  
 Sails, and rowed into the Har-  
 bours, in Manner of those that  
 triumph for Victory. After that  
 Metellus laid waste the whole  
 Island with Fire and Sword, for-  
 ced them within their Castles and  
 Cities, and took Cnossus and  
 Erythræa, and, as the Greeks  
 use to express themselves, the Mo-  
 ther of Cities Cydonia; and they  
 proceeded against the Captives sa-  
 cruelly, that most of them dis-  
 patched themselves by Poison;  
 some sent their Submission to Pom-  
 pey though absent. And though  
 he was carrying on a War in Asia,  
 yet sending Antony as Governor  
 mit-

mitterent. Et quum ille res in Asia gerens, eo quoq; præfectum misisset Antonium; in aliena provincia inclutus fuit: eoq; infestior Metellus in hostes jus victoriæ exercuit; victisque Læsthenes & Panare Cydoniæ ducibus, victor rediit: nec quicquam amplius tamen de tam famosa victoria, quam cognomen *Creticum* reportavit.

*vernor thither, he was famous in another's Province: And with so much the more Rage did Metellus exercise the Right of Conquest upon the Enemies; and overthrowing Læsthenes and Panares, the Generals of Cydonia returned victorious, but got nothing more by so famous a Conquest, than the Surname of Creticus.*

C A P. VIII. *Bellum Balearicum.*

Quatenus Metelli Macedonici domus bellicis nominibus assueverat, altero ex liberis ejus Cretico facto, mora non fuit, quin alter quoque *Balearicus* vocaretur. Baleares per idem tempus insulæ piratica rabie corruperant maria. Homines feros atque sylvestres mireris ausos a scopulis suis saltem maria prospicere. Ascendere etiam inconditas rates, & prænavigantes subinde inopinato impetu terre. Sed quum venientem ab alto Romanam classem prospexissent, prædam putantes, ausi etiam occurrere: & primo impetu, ingenti lapidum saxorumque nimbo classem operuerunt,

*AS the House of Metellus Macedonicus had been used to Names obtained by the Wars, one of his Sons being now Creticus, there was no long Delay before the other was named Balearicus. The Balearian Islands, about these Times, had infested the Seas with Piratick Madness. You would wonder that these savage People, and such as lived in the Woods, should dare even to look at the Sea from their Rocks. But they likewise went on board some ill-made Ships, and now and then alarmed such as sailed that Way, by an unexpected Onset. But upon seeing the Roman Fleet coming from the Main, supposing it a Prize, they ventured too to go to meet it; and in the first Attack, covered the Fleet with a huge Shower of Stones. Every one of them fight with three Slings. Who need wonder*  
Tribus

Tribus quisque fundis præliatur. Certos esse quis miretur ictus, quum hæc sola genti arma sint, id unum ab infantia studium? Cibum puer a matre non accipit, nisi quem ipsa monstrante percussit. Sed non diu lapidatione terruere Romanos. Postquam cominus ventum est, experitque rostra, & pila venientia, pecudum in morem clamore sublato, petierunt fuga littora; dilapsique in proximos tumulos, quærendi fuerunt, ut vincerentur.

*that their Strokes are very sure, since these are the only Arms that Nation has, that their only Employment from their Infancy? A Boy receives no Meat from his Mother, but what he has bit with his Sling, upon her shewing it him. But they did not long terrify the Romans with their stoning. After they came to close Fight, and they had the Experience of our Rostra and Lances thrown among them, setting up a Cry after the Manner of Cattle, they made for the Shore by Flight, and slipping away into the neighbouring Hills, they were to be sought for to be conquered.*

C A P. II. *Expeditio in Cyprum.*

**A**derat fatum insularum. Igitur & Cyprus recepta sine bello. Insulam veteribus divitiis abundantem, & ab hoc Veneri sacram, Ptolemæus regebat. Sed divitiarum tanta erat fama, nec falso, ut victor gentium populus, & donare regna consuetus, Publio Clodio Tribuno duce, socii vivique regis confiscationem mandaverit. Et ille quidem ad rei famam veneno fata præcepit. Cæterum Porcius Cato Cyprias opes Liburnis per Tiberinum ostium in-

**T**HE Fate of the Islands was come. Wherefore Cyprus too was taken without any War. Ptolemy was King of the Island, abounding in Wealth laid up of old, and for that Reason sacred to Venus. But so great was the Fame of its Riches, and not falsely, that the Roman People the Conqueror of the Nations, and that used to give away whole Kingdoms, at the Instigation of P. Clodius the Tribune, ordered the Confiscation of a Prince, their Ally, and alive. And he indeed, upon the News of the Thing, hastened his Fate by Poison. But Porcius Cato brought the Cyprian Riches in Liburnian  
vexit :

vexit: quæ res latius ærarium populi Romani, quam ullus triumphus, implevit.

*Ships, up the Mouth of the Tiber, which Thing more largely replenished the Treasure of the Roman People, than any Triumph.*

## CAP. X.

*Bellum Gallicum.*

**A**SIA Pompeii manibus subacta: reliqua, quæ restabant in Europa, fortuna in Cæsarem transtulit. Restabant autem immanissimi gentium Galli, atque Germani: & quamvis toto orbe divisa, tamen qui vinceret, habuit Britannia. Primus Galliæ motus ab Helvetiis cœpit: qui Rhodanum inter & Rhenum siti, non sufficientibus terris, venere sedes petitum, incensis mœnibus suis. Hoc sacramentum fuit, ne redirent. Sed petito tempore ad deliberandum, quum inter moras Cæsar, Rhodani ponte rescisso, abstulisset fugam; statim bellicosissimam gentem sic in sedes suas, quasi greges in stabula pastor, deduxit. Sequens longe cruentior pugna Belgarum; quippe pro libertate pugnantium. Hic cum multa Romanorum militum insignia, tum illud egregium ipsius ducis,

*ASIA being subdued by the Hands of Pompey, what remained in Europe, Fortune conferred upon Cæsar. And there was still left the most savage of all Nations, the Gauls and Germans. And Britain, though divided from the whole World, had one to conquer it. The first Disturbance in Gaul begun from the Helvetii, who being situated betwixt the Rhone and the Rhine, their Country being not sufficient for them, came to seek a Settlement, having set Fire to all their own Cities. This was a Sort of an Oath, not to return. But Cæsar desiring Time to consider upon the Matter, having in the mean while prevented their getting off by cutting down the Bridge over the Rhone, he immediately brought back this most Warlike Nation into their own Country, like as a Shepherd does his Flocks into the Fold. The War of the Belgæ was next, and far more bloody, as being with Men that fought for their Liberty. Here were a great many remarkable Instances of the Soldiers Bravery, and this of the General himself extraordinary. When*  
quod

quod nufante in fugam exercitu, raptò fugientis e manu scuto, in primam volitans aciem, manu prælium restituit. Inde cum Venetis etiam navale bellum: sed major cum Oceano, quam cum ipsis navibus rixa: quippe illæ rudes, & informes, & statim naufragæ, quum rostra sensissent. Sed hærebat in vadis pugna quum æstibus solitis in ipso certamine subductus Oceanus intercedere bello videretur. Illæ quoque accessere diversitates pro gentium locorumque natura. Aquitani callidum genus, in speluncas se recipiebant, jussit includi: Morini dilabebantur in sylvas; jussit incendi. Nemo tantum feroces dixerit Gallos; fraudibus agunt: Induciomarus Treviros, Ambiorix convocavit Eburones: utrique, absente Cæsare, conjuratione facta invenere legatos. Sed ille fortiter a Dolabella summotus est, relatumque regis caput; hic insidiis in valle dispositis, dolo perculit: itaque & castra direpta sunt, & aurum ablatum. Cottam cum Titurio Sabino legato ibi amissimus. Nec ulla de rege mox ultio: quippe perpetua trans

*the Army was ready to fly, taking a Shield out of the Hand of a Soldier that was running away, and flying into the Front of the Battle, he restored the Fight with his own Hand. After that there was a War too at Sea with the Veneti. But there was a greater Contest with the Ocean, than the Enemy's Ships; for those of the Veneti were of a rough Make, and ill-shaped, and immediately shattered upon the Shock of our Rostra. But the Battle was confined to the Shallows: when the Ocean being withdrawn by its usual Tides, in the Midst of the Engagement seemed to interpose, to forbid the War. These other Varieties of Fight, according to the Nature of the several Nations and Places, were superadded. The Aquitanians, a crafty Nation, betook themselves to their Caves: He ordered them to be shut up therein. The Morini slipped away into their Woods. He ordered them to be set on Fire. Let nobody say the Gauls are only bold; they manage their Affairs by Stratagems. Induciomarus drew together the Treviri, and Ambiorix the Eburones. Both of them, in the Absence of Cæsar, forming a Confederacy, came upon his Lieutenants; but the former was valiantly repulsed by Dolabella, and the King's Head brought off: The latter placing an Ambuscade in a Valley, by that Wile took off his Enemy. Wherefore both the Camps were taken, and all the Gold therein carried off. There*  
Nec

Rhenum fuga latuit. *we lost Cottas, with Titurius Sabinus the Lieutenant-General.*  
 Nec Rhenus ergo immunis: nec enim fas erat, *Nor had we any Revenge afterwards of the King, for he lay skulking beyond the Rhine, in continual Exile during Life; and therefore the Rhine was not left unattempted; nor was it reasonable, that the Entertainer and Protector of our Enemies should go scot-free.*

Sed prima contra Germanos illius pugna, justissimis quidem ex causis. Hædū enim de incurfionibus eorum querebantur. Quæ Ariovisti superbia? Quum legati dicerent, *Veni ad Cæsarem.* Quis est autem Cæsar? & si vult, veniat, inquit; & Quid ad illum, quid agat nostra Germania? Num ego me interpono Romanis? Itaque tantus gentis novæ terror in castris, ut testamenta passim etiam in principiiis scriberentur. Sed illa immania corpora quo erant majora, eo magis gladiis feroque paterentur. Qui calor in præliando militum fuerit, nullo magis exprimi potest, quam quod elatis super caput scutis, quum se testudine barbarus tegeret, super ipsa Romani scuta saluerunt; & inde in jugulos gladiis descendebant. Iterum de Germano Tencteri querebantur. Hic vero jam Cæsar ultro Mosulam navali ponte transgreditur, ipsumque Rhenum: & Hercyniis hostem quærit

*But this first War against the Germans was upon very just Grounds. For the Hædū complained of their Incurfions. What was the Pride of Ariovistus? When the Deputies sent to him said, Come to Cæsar. But who is Cæsar? And if he will, let him come to me, says he. And what is it to him what our Germany does? Do I intrude myself into the Roman Affairs? Wherefore so great was the Fear of the Nation that was new to them in the Camp, that Wills were writ up and down even in the Principia. But those huge Bodies, the bigger they were, the more they were exposed to Swords and other Weapons of War. How great the Mettle of the Soldiers was in the Fight, can by nothing be better expressed than by this, that the Romans, when the Barbarians, by holding their Shields above their Heads, covered themselves with a Testudo, jumped upon their very Shields, and thence came down upon their Throats with their Swords. Again the Tencteri complained of the Germans. And now Cæsar passes the Moselle by a Bridge of boats, and the Rhine itself; and seeks the Enemy in the Hercynian Woods: But the whole*



in sylvis: sed in saltus & paludes genus omne dif-  
fugerat. Tantum pav-  
oris incussit intra ripam  
subito Romana vis. Nec  
semel Rhenus, sed ite-  
rum quoque, & quidem  
ponte factō, penetratus  
est. Sed major aliquan-  
to trepidatio: quippe  
quum Rhenum suum  
sic ponte, quasi jugo cap-  
tum viderent, fuga rursus  
in sylvas ac paludes: &  
quod acerbissimum Cæ-  
sari fuit, non fuere qui  
vincerentur. Omnibus  
terra marique captis, re-  
spexit Oceanum: & quasi  
hic Romanis orbis non  
sufficeret, alterum cogi-  
tavit. Classe igitur com-  
parata, Britanniam petiit.  
Transit mira celeritate:  
quippe quum tertia vigi-  
lia Morino solvisset a  
portu, minus quam me-  
dio die insulam ingressus  
est. Plena erat tumultu  
hostica littora; &  
trepidantia ad conspec-  
tum rei novæ carpenta  
volitabant. Itaque tre-  
pidatio pro victoria fuit.  
Arma, & obsides accepit  
a trepidis: & ulterius  
isset, nisi improbam  
classē naufragio casti-  
gasset Oceanus. Rever-  
sus igitur in Galliam,  
classē majore auctisque  
admodum copiis, in e-  
undem rursus Oceanum,  
eisdemque rursus Bri-

*Nation was fled into their For-  
ests and Fens. So great a  
Terror did a Roman Army seem  
suddenly within their Bank strike.  
Nor was the Rhine only passed  
once, but again too, and upon a  
Bridge made over it too. But  
the Consternation was somewhat  
greater; for when they saw  
their River Rhine taken with a  
Bridge like a Yoke upon it, there  
was great running again into the  
Woods and Fens; and, what  
was very grievous to Cæsar, there  
were no People to be conquered.  
After all Places were now sub-  
dued by Sea and Land, he cast his  
Eyes upon the Ocean, and as if  
the World belonging already to  
the Romans, was not sufficient  
for them, he thought of another.  
Wherefore providing a Fleet, he  
goes for Britain: He passes  
over with wonderful Expedition,  
as who having set sail from the  
Morine Harbour at the third  
Watch, entered the Island be-  
fore Mid-day. The Shores were  
full of Hurry with the Enemy,  
and their Chariots flew about  
with the Fright upon seeing this  
strange Thing. And this Con-  
sternation was in Effect a Victo-  
ry. He received Arms and Hos-  
tages from the affrighted Bri-  
tons, and would have gone fur-  
ther, had not the Ocean chastised  
the saucy Fleet by a Wreck.  
Wherefore returning into Gaul,  
with a greater Fleet, and his  
Army augmented, entering again  
upon the same Ocean, and pur-  
suing the same Britons into the  
Calidonian Wood, he put one  
tannos,*

tannos, Calydonias sequutus in sylvas, unum quoque e regibus Cevalanis in vincula dedit. Contentus his (non enim provinciæ, sed nomini studebatur) cum majore quam prius præda reventus est; ipso quoque Oceano tranquillo magis & propitio, quasi impari se fateretur. Sed maxima omnium eademque novissime conjuratio fuit Galliarum, quum omnes pariter Arvernos atque Biturigas, Carnutas simul. Sequanosque contraxit, ille corpore, armis, spirituque terribilis, nomine etiam quasi ad terrorem composito, Vercingetorix. Ille festis diebus, & comitialibus, cum frequentissimos in lucis haberet, ferocibus dictis ad jus pristinum libertatis erexit. Aberat tunc Cæsar, Ravennæ delectum agens: & hyeme creverant Alpes: sic interclusum putabant iter. Sed ille qualis erat ad nuncium rei felicissimæ temeritatis? Per invios ad id tempus montium tumulos, per intactas nives, expedita manu emerfus, occupat Galliam; & ex distantibus hybernis castra contraxit; & ante in media Gallia fuit quam ab ulti-

of their Kings in Chains. Content with these Things, (for he was not concerned for the making a Province, but a Name only) he returned with greater Plunder than before; the Ocean itself too being more quiet and favourable, as if it confessed itself not a Match for him. But the greatest, and the same the last Confederacy of all Gaul was, when that Vercingetorix, terrible both for his Person, Arms, and Spirit, his very Name too being framed as it were to excite Terror, drew together all the Arverni and Bituriges, the Carnutes and Sequans. He upon their Festival and Assembly Days, having them in great Numbers in the Groves, roused them by his high-spirited Harangues to the Recovery of their former Privilege of Liberty. Cæsar was absent at that Time, making a Levy of Men at Ravenna; and the Alps were grown higher by the Winter, and therefore they thought the Passage was stopped. But he upon the News very happily making his Way over the Tops of the Mountains, unpassable till that Time, through untouched Snows with a Body of Troops without Baggage, gets into Gaul, and formed a Camp from several remote Winter Quarters, and was in the Middle of Gaul, before he was apprehended by the Borders. Then falling upon the Cities that were Principals in the War, he took Avaricum with

ma timeretur. Tum ipsa capita belli aggressus, urbes; Avaricum cum quadraginta millibus propugnantium sustulit; Alexiam ducentorum quinquaginta millium juventute subnixam flammis adæquavit. Circa Gergoviam Arvernorum, tota belli moles fuit quippe quum octoginta milia muro, & arce, abruptis defenderent. Maximam civitatem vallo, sudibus, & fossa, inductoque fossæ flumine, ad hoc decem, & octa castellis, ingentique lorica circumdatam primum fame domuit: mox audentem eruptiones, in vallo, gladiis sudibusque concidit: novissime in ditionem redegit. Ipse ille rex, maximum victoriæ decus, supplex quum in castra venisset, tum & phaleras, & sua arma ante Cæsaris genua projecit: *Fortem, inquit, virum, vir fortissime, vicisti.*

*forty thousand fighting Men; and levelled with the Flames Alexia, depending upon an Army of two hundred and fifty thousand Men. The whole Stréss of the War was at last about Gergovia, a City of the Arverni, when fourscore thousand Men defended it with the Help of a Wall, a Citadel, and Precipices. He first of all distressed this very great City by Famine. surrounded with a Line of Circumvallation, Pallisades, and a Ditch, the River too being let into the Ditch, besides with eighteen Castles, and a huge Breast-work; and afterwards made sad Havock of the Defendants, venturing upon Sallies, by the Rampart, with Swords and Stakes; and at last forced them to a Surrender. After the King himself, who was the greatest Ornament of the Victory, was come in a submissive Manner into the Camp, he threw his Trappings and his Arms before the Knees of Cæsar: You have, most gallant Man, says he, conquered a gallant Man.*

C A P. XI. *Bellam Parthicum.*

**D**UM Gallos per Cæsarem in Septentrione debellat, interim ad Orientem grave vulnus a Parthis populus Romanus accepit. Nec

**W**HILST the Roman People conquer the Gauls in the North by Cæsar, they received in the mean Time a terrible Stroke from the Parthians in the East. Nor can we complain of Fortune:

de fortuna queri possumus: cæret solatio clades. Adversis & diis, & hominibus, cupiditas consulis Crassi, dum Parthico inhiat auro, undecim strage legionum, & ipsius capite multata est. Et tribunus plebis Metellus, exeuntem ducem hostilibus diris devoverat: quum Zeugma transfisset exercitus, rapta subitis signa turbinibus hausit Euphrates: & quum apud Nicephorium castra posuisset, missi ab Orode rege legati denunciavere, percussorum cum Pompeio foederum, Syllaque meminisset. Regiis inhians ille thesauris, nihil, ne imaginario quidem jure, sed Seleuciae se responsurum esse, respondit. Itaque dii foederum ultores, nec infidiis, nec virtuti hostium defuerunt. Jam primum, qui solus & subvehere commeatus, & munire poterat a tergo, relictus Euphrates. Tum simulato transfugæ cuidam Mazaræ Syro creditur, dum in mediam camporum vastitatem eodem duce ductus exercitus, undique hosti exponeretur. Itaque vix dum venerat Carras, duum undique præfecti regis, Sillaces & Surenas, ostendere signa auro

*This overthrow is absolutely without Consolation. Whilst both Gods and Men are against us, the covetous Humour of Crassus the Consul, in gaping after the Parthian Gold, was punished with the Slaughter of eleven Legions, and the Loss of his own Head: And Metellus, the Tribune of the Commons, had cursed Crassus, as he marched out of Town, with the Curses of an Enemy: And after the Army had passed Zeugma, the River Euphrates received under its Waves the Standards carried off by sudden Storms: And after he had pitched his Camp at Nicephorium, Embassadors that were sent by King Orodes advised him to reflect on the Treaties made with Pompey and Sylla. He, gaping after the King's Treasures, made no Reply, but that he would give his Answer at Seleucia. Wherefore the Gods, the Avengers of broken Treaties, were neither wanting to support the Ambuscades, nor the open Bravery of the Enemies. Now in the first Place Euphrates was left, which alone could bring him up Provisions, and secure him in his Rear. Then Credit was given to one Mazaras, a Syrian, a counterfeit Deserter, 'till the Army, led on by the same as a Guide into prodigious wide Plains, was exposed to the Enemy on all Sides. Wherefore he had scarce got to Carræ, when the King's Commanders, Sillaces and Surenas, shewed on all Hands their Standards waving with*  
sericisq;

fericisque vexillis vibrantia. Tum sine mora circumfusi undique equitatus, in modum grandinis atque nimborum densa pariter tela fuderunt. Sic miserabili strage delētus exercitus. Ipse in colloquium sollicitatus, signo dato, vivus in hostium manus incidisset, nisi tribunis reluctantibus, fugam ducis Barbari ferro occupassent. Sic quoque relatum caput ludibrio hosti fuit. Filium ducis, pæne in conspectu patris, eisdem telis operuere. Reliquæ infelicis exercitus, quemque rapuit fuga, in Armeniam, Ciliciam, Syriamque distractæ, vix nuncium cladis retulerunt. Caput ejus recisum cum dextera manu, ad regem reportatum, ludibrio fuit, neque indigno. Aurum enim liquidum in rictum oris infusum est: ut cujus animus arserat auri cupiditate, ejus etiam mortuum & exangue corpus auro ureretur.

*Gold and Silken Colours. Then the Horse, being drawn round on all Hands, poured out their Weapons all together very thick, in the Manner of Hail, and Showers of Rain. Thus the Army was cut off with a miserable Destruction. He being invited to a Conference, would upon a Signal given have come alive into the Enemies' Hands, had not the Barbarians, upon the Tribune's making Resistance, prevented the Flight of the General by the Sword. Yet so too the Head was carried off, and served for a Laughing-Stock to the Enemy. They covered the General's Son, in Sight of his Father, with the same Weapons. The Remains of the unhappy Army being scattered whithersoever their Flight hurried them, into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria, hardly carried back the News of the Overthrow. His Head being cut off with his Right Hand, and carried to the King, served for a Laughing-Stock, and not without Reason. For melted Gold was poured into the Opening of his Mouth, that his dead and lifeless Body might be burnt with Gold, whose Mind had been inflamed with a covetous Desire of Gold.*

C A P. XII. *Anacephalæosis.*

**H**ÆC est illa tertia  
 ætas populi Romani  
 transmarina, qua Italia  
 progredi ausus, orbis toto  
 arma circumtulit. Cujus  
 ætatis superiores centum  
 anni sancti, pii, & ut  
 diximus, aurei, sine ha-  
 gitio, sine scelere, dum  
 sincera adhuc & innoxia  
 pastoris illius sectæ inte-  
 gritas, dumq; Rectorum  
 hostium imminens metus  
 disciplinam veterem con-  
 tinebat. Postremi cen-  
 tum, quos a Carthaginis,  
 Corinthi, Numantiaque  
 excidiis, & Attali regis  
 Asiatica hæreditate de-  
 duximus in Cæsarem &  
 Pompeium, sequutum-  
 que hos, de quo dice-  
 mus, Augustum, ut cla-  
 ritate rerum bellica-  
 rum magnifici, ita do-  
 mesticis cladibus miseri  
 & erubescendi. Quippe  
 sicut Galliam, Thraci-  
 am, Ciliciam, Cappado-  
 ciam, uberrimas validissi-  
 masque provincias, Ar-  
 menios etiam, & Britan-  
 nos, ut non in usum, ita  
 ad imperii speciem mag-  
 na nomina acquisisse,  
 pulchrum atq; decorum:  
 ita eodem tempore aimi-

**T**HIS is that third Age of  
 the Roman People spent be-  
 yond the Sea, in which venturing  
 to go out of Italy, they carried  
 their Arms all the World over.  
 Of which Age the first hundred  
 Years were upright, pious, and,  
 as I have said, Golden, without  
 Scandal, without Villainy, whilst  
 the Integrity of the Shepherd's  
 Race was as yet pure and inno-  
 cent, and whilst the threatening  
 Dread of the Carthaginian Ene-  
 mies kept up their ancient Dis-  
 cipline. The latter hundred,  
 which we have deduced from the  
 Destruction of Carthage, Co-  
 rinth and Numantia, and the  
 Succession to King Attalus's E-  
 state in Asia, to Cæsar and Pom-  
 pey, and Augustus that followed  
 them, of whom we shall speak,  
 as they were granted for the Fame  
 of the Military Transactions  
 therein, so were they miserable  
 and shameful for the Havock  
 made at Home. For as it was  
 glorious and reputable to acquire  
 those very plentiful and strong  
 Provinces of Gaul, Thrace, Cili-  
 cia and Cappadocia, the Arme-  
 nians too, and Britons, though  
 not for Use, yet great Names to  
 set off the Splendor of the Em-  
 pire; so to engage at Home at  
 the same time with their Fellow-  
 Citizens, Allies, Slaves, Gla-

caste domi cum civibus, sociis, mancipiis, gladiatoribus, totoque inter se senatu, turpe atque miserandum. Ac nescio an satius fuerit populo Romano, Sicilia & Africa contento fuisse, aut his etiam ipsis carere, dominantem in Italia sua, quam eo magnitudinis crescere, ut viribus suis conficeretur. Quæ enim res alia furores civiles peperit, quam nimia felicitas? Syria prima nos victa corrumpit: mox Asiatica Pergameni regis hereditas. Illæ opes atque divitiæ afflixere sæculi mores, merfamque vitiiis suis, quasi sentina, rempublicam pessum dedere. Unde enim populus Romanus a tribunis agros & cibaria flagitaret, nisi per famem, quam luxu fecerat? Hinc ergo Gracchana & prima & secunda, & illa tertia Apuleiana seditio. Unde regnaret judiciariis rebus divulsus a senatu eques, nisi ex avaritia, ut vectigalia reipublicæ, atque ipsa judicia in quæstu haberentur? Hinc rursus & promissa civitas Latio, & per hoc arma sociorum: Quid autem bellâ servilia? unde nobis, nisi ex abundantia familiarum? Unde gladiatorii adversus dominos suos

*diators, the whole Senate being divided amongst themselves, was scandalous and miserable. And I know not whether it would not have been better for the Roman People to have been content with Sicily and Africa, or to have wanted even them, yet enjoying the Dominion of Italy, than to grow to that Bigness, as to be destroyed by its own Strength. For what Thing else produced those intestine Distractions, than excessive good Fortune? Syria, when conquered, first debauched us: Soon after too the Succession in Asia to the Estate of the King of Pergamus. That Wealth and Riches ruined the Manners of the Age, and bore down the Republick sunk in its own Vices as a Sink. For from what Cause should the Roman People have demanded from their Tribunes Lands and Subsistence, unless by Reason of the Scarcity, which they had by their Luxury produced? Hence therefore proceeded the first and second Sedition of the Gracchi, and the third of Apuleius. From what Cause could the Equestrian Order, being divided from the Senate, domineer by virtue of the Judiciary Laws, but from Avarice, that the Revenue of the State, and Trials of Causes, should be made Matter of Gain? From hence again was it that the Privilege of the City was promised to the Latins, and by this Means were the Arms of our Allies provoked against us. And what*

exercitus, nisi ad conciliandum plebis favorem effusa largitio, quum spectaculis indulget, supplicia quondam hostium, artem facit? Jam ut speciosiora vitia tangamus, nonne ambitus honorum ab iisdem divitiis incitatus? Atque inde Mariana, inde Syllana tempestas. Aut magnificus apparatus conviviorum, & sumptuosa largitio, nonne ab opulentia, paritura mox egestatem? Hæc Catilinam patriæ suæ impexit. Denique illa ipsa principatus & dominandi cupido, unde, nisi ex nimis opibus venit? Atqui hæc Cæsarem atque Pompeium furialibus in exitium reipublicæ facibus armavit. Hos igitur populi Romani omnes domesticos motus, sepe ab externis justisque bellis, ex ordine prosequemur.

*the Slaves? Whence came they upon us, but from the great Abundance of Slaves? Whence came those Armies of Gladiators against their masters, but from thence, that whilst an extravagant Generosity indulges itself in publick Shews to gain the Favour of the common People, it makes what formerly had been the Punishment of Enemies a Trade? Now to touch upon more specious Vices, was not the extravagant Desire of Honour occasioned by the same Riches? But thence came the Marian Storm, thence that of Sylla. Or the splendid Preparation, for Entertainment, and an expensive Bounty, did they not come from Wealth that was soon like to produce Want? This brought Catiline upon his Country. Finally, that very Desire of being uppermost and domineering, whence came it but from excessive Riches? But this armed Cæsar and Pompey with the Torches of the Furies for the Ruin of the Republick. Wherefore we shall in Order relate all these civil Broils of the Roman People apart from foreign and just Wars.*

### C A P. XIII. *Causa Seditioſum Trib. Potestas.*

**S**editioſum omnium causas Tribunitia potestas excitavit: quæ specie quidem plebis tuendæ, cujus in auxilium comparata est, re. autem

**T**HE Tribunitian Authority gave Occasion to all the Seditions; which under the Pretence indeed of protecting the Commons, for whose Assistance it was at first provided, but in

domina-



dominationem sibi acquirens studium populi ac favorem, agrariis, frumentariis, judiciariis legibus aucupabatur. Inerat omnibus species æquitatis. Quid enim tam justum, quam recipere plebem jus suum a patribus? ne populus gentium victor, orbisque possessor, extorris aris ac focis ageret. Quid tam æquum, quam inopem populum vivere ex ærario suo? Quid ad jus libertatis æquandæ magis efficax, quam ut senatu regente provincias, ordinis equestris auctoritas saltem judiciorum regno niteretur? Sed hæc ipsa in perniciem redibant: & misera respublica in exitium suum merces erat. Nam & a senatu in equitem translata judiciorum potestas, vectigalia, id est, imperii patrimonium, supprimebat: & emptio frumenti, ipsos reipublicæ nervos, exhauriebat ærarium. Reduci plebs in agros unde poterat sine possidentium everfione, qui ipsi pars populi erant, & tamen relictas sibi a majoribus sedes, ætate, quasi jure hæreditario possidebant?

*Reality seeking Dominion for themselves, endeavoured to compass the Affections and Favour of the People by the Agrarian, Frumentarian, and Judiciary Laws. There was in them all an Appearance of Equity: For what was so just, as that the common People should receive their Right from the Fathers of the Senate? That the People who had been victorious over the Nations, and was Possessor of the World, might not be banished from their own Altars and Fire-sides? What was so equitable, as that the poor People should live out of their own Treasury? What was more effectual for producing the Benefit of equal Liberty than that whilst the Senate governed the Provinces, the Authority of the Equestrian Order should be upheld by a judicial Power? But these very Things turned to the Ruin of the Publick; and the miserable Commonwealth was a Reward for its own Destruction. For the judiciary Authority transferred from the Senate upon the Equestrian Order, suppressed the Revenue, and the Patrimony of the Empire: And the Buying of Corn exhausted the Treasury, the very Nerves of the Commonwealth. And how could the common People be put into Possession of the Lands, without the Ruin of those that already possessed them, who themselves were a Part of the People, and moreover possessed those Estates left them by their Ancestors, by Prescription, as it were by hereditary Right?*

C A P. XIV. *Seditio Tiberii Gracchi.*

**P**PRIMAM certaminum facem Tiberius Gracchus accendit; genere, forma, eloquentia facile princeps. Sed hic, sive Mancinianæ deditiois quia sponsor fœderis fuerat, contagium timens, & inde popularis: sive æquo & bono ductus, quia depulsam agris suis plebem miseratus est, ne populus, gentium victor, orbisque possessor, extorris aris & focis suis exularet, quacunq; mente, rem ausus ingentem. Postquam rogationis dies aderat, ingenti stipatus agmine rostra conscendit: nec deerat obvia manu tota inde nobilitas, & tribuni in partibus. Sed ubi intercedentem legibus suis Cnæum Octavium vidit Gracchus, contra fas collegii, jus potestatis, injecta manu depulit rostris: adeoque præsentis metu mortis exterruit, ut abdicare se magistratu cogeretur. Sic triumvir creatus dividendis agris. Quum ad perpetranda cœpta, die comitiorum prorogari sibi vellet imperium, obvia nobilium manu, eorumque quos agris moverat,

**T**iberius Gracchus lighted up the first Torch of Contention, unquestionably the greatest Man in Rome for Family, Person, and Eloquence. But he, whether fearing the Infection of the Surrendry of Mancinus, because he had been a Bondsman for the Performance of the Treaty, and for that Reason a Favourer of the People; or induced by the Equity and Reasonableness of the Thing, because he took Pity of the common People, forced from their Lands, that the People that had been victorious over the Nations, and Possessors of the World, might not live in Banishment from their Altars and Fire-sides; or with what Mind soever he did it, he attempted a very great Thing. After the Day for preferring the Bill was come, he mounted the Rostra, attended with a huge Train. Nor were the Nobility on the other Side wanting with a considerable Body to meet him; and the Tribunes too were on their Side. But when Gracchus saw Cnæus Octavius interposing to prevent the passing of his Laws, laying Hands upon him, contrary to the Privilege of the Body of Tribunes, and the Right of that Office, he drove him from the Rostra, and so terrified him with the present Apprehensions of Death, that he was obliged to quit his Office,

cædes

cædes a foro cœpit. Inde quum in Capitolium profugisset, plebemque ad defensionem salutis suæ, manu caput tangens, hortaretur, præbuit speciem regnum sibi & diadema poscentis: atque ita duce Scipione Nasica, concitato in arma populo, quasi jure oppressus est.

*Upon which he was made one of the three Commissioners for dividing the Lands. And when upon the Day of his Election, he desired to have his Authority continued to him to finish his Undertaking, a Body of the Nobility, and those whom he had turned out of their Lands, opposing him, the Slaughter begun at the Forum. After that flying to the Capitol, and exhorting the People to the Defence of his Life, touching at the same Time his Head with his Hand, he gave Occasion to imagine he desired for himself the Sovereignty, and a Diadem. And so the People being raised to Arms, under the Leading of Scipio Nasica, he was taken off, as it were by Right.*

## C A P. XV.

## Seditio Caii Gracchi.

STATIM & mortis, & legum fratris sui vindex non minore impetu incaluit Caius Gracchus: qui cum pari tumultu atque terrore plebem in avitos agros arcesseret; & recentem Attali hæreditatem in alimenta populo polliceretur; jamque nimis, & potens altero tribunatu secunda plebe volitaret: obrogare auro legibus suis Minucio tribuno, fretus comitum manu, fatale familiæ suæ Capitolium invasit. Inde proximorum cæde pulsus, quum se in Aventinum recepisset, inde quoque obviam sena-

**I**Mmediately Caius Gracchus exerted himself with no less Vigour, as the Avenger of his Brother's Death, and the Maintainer of his Laws, who endeavouring to settle the common People in the Possession of the Lands belonging to their Ancestors, with the like Bustle and Terror, and promising the People the late Inheritance of Attalus for their Support; and being now over great and powerful by virtue of a second Tribuneship, flying about the Town with the Commonalty all on his Side, upon Minucius the Tribune's venturing to oppose his Laws, supported by a good Body of Attendants, he seized upon the Capitol, that had been fatal to his Family. But being forced from  
tus

tus manu, ab Opimio consule oppressus est. Insultatum quoque mortis reliquiis: & illud sacrosanctum caput Tribuni plebis percussoribus auro pensatum est.

thence by the Slaughter of those about him, and withdrawing himself to the Aventine Mount, a Body of the Senate meeting him too from that Quarter, he was slain by Opimius the Consul. Great Insult was made too upon his Relicks; and that sacred Head of a Tribune of the Commons was paid for to his Assassins in Gold.

## CAP. XVI.

## Seditio Appuleiana.

**N**ihilominus Appuleius Saturninus Gracchanas asserere leges non desistit. Tantum animorum viro Marius dabat: qui nobilitati semper inimicus, consulatu suo præterea confusus, occiso palam comitiis Annio competitore Tribunatus, subrogare conatus est in ejus locum Caium Gracchum, hominem sine tribu, sine nomine: sed subdito titulo, in familiam ipse se adoptabat. Quam tot, tantisque ludibriis exultaret impune, rogandis Gracchorum legibus ita vehementer incubuit, ut Senatam quoque cogeret in verba jurare; quum abnuentibus aqua et igni interdicturum se minaretur. Unus tamen extitit, qui mallet exilium. Igitur post Metelli fugam

**N**evertheless Appuleius Saturninus did not desist from maintaining the Laws of the Gracchi. So much Resolution did Marius give the Man; who being always an Enemy to the Nobility, and besides confiding in his Consulship, having openly slain at the Election Annius, his Competitor for the Tribuneship, he endeavoured to put in his Room one Caius Gracchus, a Man without Tribe, and without Name; but by a false Title he adopted himself into the Family of the Gracchi. Whilst he triumphed with Impunity in so many and such outrageous Insults, amongst other Things, he applied himself so vehemently to have the Laws of the Gracchi passed, that he obliged the Senate to swear an Oath of his for the Purpose, threatening such as refused with Banishment. Yet there was one who chose Banishment rather than to swear. Wherefore all the Nobility being sadly terrified

omni nobilitate percussa, quum jam tertium annum dominaretur, eo vesaniæ progressus est, ut consularia quoque comitia nova cæde turbaret. Quippe ut satellitem furoris sui Glauciam, consulem faceret, Caium Memmium competitorem interfici iussit: & in eo tumultu regem satellitibus suis se appellatum, lætus accepit. Tum vero jam conspiratione Senatus, ipso quoque jam Mario consule, quia tueri non poterat, adverso; directæ in foro acies: expulsus inde, Capitolium invasit. Sed quum abruptis fistulis obsideretur, Senatusque per legatos pœnitentiæ fidem faceret, ab arce digressus cum ducibus factionis receptus in curiam est. Ibi eum facta irruptione, populus fustibus saxisque coopertum in ipsa quoque morte laceravit.

*after the Banishment of Metellus, when he was now domineering in his third Year, he proceeded to that Height of Madness, that he disturbed the consular Election too with a new Murder. For to make Glaucias a Maintainer of his Madness, Consul, he ordered his Competitor Caius Memmius to be slain; and, in the Midst of that Hurry, with Joy heard himself called King by his Assistants. But then, upon a Confederacy of the Senate against him, the Consul too Marius himself, because he could not protect him, being against him, the Forces on each Side were drawn up in the Forum; and being driven from thence, he seized upon the Capitol. But the Water-Pipes being cut, and he besieged, and by Deputies begetting in the Senate a Belief of his Repentance for what he had done, he came down from the Castle, with the Leaders of his Faction, and was received into the Senate-house. And there the People making an Irruption, covered him with Sticks and Stones, and in the Article of Death tore him in Pieces.*

C A P. XVII. *Drusiana Seditio.*

POstremo Livius Drusus, non tribunatus modo viribus, sed ipse etiam Senatus auctoritate, totiusque Italiæ consensu, easdem leges asserere conatus, dum aliud

*AT* last Livius Drusus, endeavouring to maintain the same Laws, not only with the Strength of the Tribuneship, but the Authority of the Senate themselves, and the Consent of all Italy; whilst he aims at one Thing  
captat

captat ex alio, tantum conflagit incendium, ut ne prima illius flamma posset sustineri; & subita morte correptus, hæreditarium in posteros suos bellum propagaret. Judicarii Lege Gracchi diviserant populum Romanum, & bicipitem ex una fecerant civitatem: Equites Romani, tanta potestate subnixi, ut qui fata fortunæque principum haberent in manu, interceptis vectigalibus, peculabantur suo jure rempublicam: Senatus exilio Metelli, damnatione Rutilii debilitatus, omne decus majestatis amiserat. In hoc statu rerum pares opibus, animis, dignitate, (unde & nata Livio Druso æmulatione accesserat) equitem Servilius Cæpio, senatum Livius Drusus asserere. Signa, & aquilæ, & vexilla aderant: cæterum sic urbe in una, quasi in binis castris, dissidebatur. Prior Cæpio in senatum impetu facto, reos ambitus Scaurum & Philippum, principes nobilitatis elegit. His motibus ut resisteret Drusus, plebem ad se Gracchanis legibus, eisdem socios ad spem civitatis crexit. Extat vox ipsius, Nihil se ad largitionem ulli reliquisse, nisi si quis

after another, he raised such a might Combustion, that the first Flash of it could not be supported; and he being taken off by a sudden Death, propagated an hereditary War to Posterity. The Gracchi had divided the Roman People by the judiciary Law, and out of one had made a City with two Heads. The Roman Knights being supported by so great a Power, as who had the Fate and Fortunes of the great Men in their Hands, by intercepting the public Revenue, robbed the State at their Pleasure. The Senate, weakened by the Banishment of Metellus, and the Condemnation of Rutilius, had lost all the Glory of their Majesty. In this Posture of Affairs, Servilius Cæpio; and Livius Drusus, equal in Estate, Spirit, and Dignity, (from whence thro an Emulation was raised in Livius Drusus) began to assert, the former the Cause of the Equestrian Order, and the latter that of the Senate. Standards, Eagles, and Banners attended them; and the Difference was as high in one City, as if it had been in two Camps. First of all Cæpio making an Attack upon the Senate, singled out the principal of the Nobility, Scaurus and Philip, for a legal Prosecution, upon account of undue Proceedings in Elections. Drusus, to oppose these Commotions, invited the People to him by promoting the Laws of the Gracchi, and by the same drew in our Allies to the Expectation of the Freedom of the City. There is a Saying of his upon Record,

.aut

*aut cœnum dividere vellet, aut cœlum.* Aderat promulgandi dies; quum subito tanta vis hominum undique apparuit, ut hostium adventu obsessa civitas videretur. Ausus tamen obrogare de legibus consul Philippus: sed apprehensum faucibus viator non ante dimisit, quam sanguis in ora & oculos redundaret. Sic per vim latæ, justæque leges: sed pretium rogationis statim socii flagitare, quum interim imparem Drusum, ægrumque rerum temere motarum, matura, ut in tali discrimine, mors abstulit. Nec ideo minus socii promissa Drusi a populo Romano reposcere armis desierunt.

That he had left nothing to any one to give away, unless any one had a Mind to divide either the Dirt, or the Heavens amongst the People. *The Day for preferring the Bills was come, when on a sudden, such a vast Number of Men from all Parts appeared, that the City seemed to be besieged by the coming of Enemies.* Yet the Consul Philip ventured to oppose the passing of the Bills; but a Serjeant seizing him by the Jaws, did not let him go, before the Blood sprung into his Mouth and Eyes; so the Bills were put up, and passed by Force. But the Allies immediately demanded the Price of their passing them, whilst in the mean Time Death, very seasonable in such a Danger, took off Drusus, unequal to the Work, and sick of the Projects he had so rashly entered upon. Nor did therefore the Allies desist from demanding, by Force of Arms, the Promises of Drusus from the Roman People.

C A P. XVIII. *Bellum Sociale.*

**S**Ociale bellum vocetur licet; ut extenuemus invidiam, si verum tamen volumus, illud civile bellum fuit. Quippe quum populus Romanus Etruscos, Latinos, Sabinosque miscuerit, & unum ex omnibus sanguinem ducat; corpus fecit ex membris, & ex omnibus unus est. Nec minore

**T**Hough it be called the War of the Allies, to extenuate the Odium of it; yet, if we will speak the Truth, it was a civil War. Since the Roman People mixed the Etruscans, Latins, and Sabines together, and derive one Blood from them all; it made up a Body of those several Members, and is one People composed of them all. Nor did the Allies rebel with less Scandal within Italy, flagitio

flagitio socii intra Italiam, quam intra urbem cives rebellabant. Itaque quum jus civitatis, quam viribus auxerant, socii justissime postularent, ad quam spem eos cupidine dominationes Drusus exererat; postquam ille domestico scelere oppressus est, eadem fax, quæ illum cremavit, socios in arma & oppugnationem Urbis, accendit. Quid hac clade tristius? quid calamitosius? quum omne Latium, atque Picenum, Etruria omnis, atque Campania, postremo Italia contra matrem ac parentem suam Urbem confurgerent: quum omne robur fortissimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum sub suis quosque signis haberent municipalia illa prodigia: Popedius Masos, & Latinos Afranius; Umbros totus senatus, & consules: Samnium Lucaniamque Telesinus: quum regum & gentium arbiter populus ipsum se regere non posset, ut victrix Asiæ Europæque a Corfinio Roma peteretur. Primum fuit belli in Albano monte consilium, ut festo die Latinarum Julius Cæsar & Marcius Philippus consules, inter sacra & aras immolarentur. Postquam id nefas proditione discussum est,

than the Citizens did within the City. Wherefore the Allies insisting very justly upon the Freedom of the City, which they had much improved by their Strength, to which Hopes Drusus had raised them from a Desire of domineering, after he was taken off by the Wickedness of his Fellow-Citizens, the same Firebrand that burnt him, enflamed the Allies to Arms, and the attacking of the City. What was more dismal than this miserable Case? what more calamitous? when all Latium and Picene, all Etruria and Campania, in fine all Italy, rose up in Arms against their Mother City and Parent, When those Municipal Prodigies had every one under their Standards all the Strength of the most brave and faithful Allies, i. e. Popedius the Marcians, and Afranius the Latins; all the Senate and Consuls the Umbrians; Telesinus Samnium and Lucania; that whilst the People that was the Ruler over Kings and Nations, could not govern itself, Rome, the Conqueress of Asia and Europe, was invaded from Corfinium. The first Contrivance of the War was in the Alban Mountain, so that Julius Caesar and Marcius Philippus were to have been assassinated upon the Festival of the Latin Peries, amidst the holy Things and Altars. When this villainous Design was prevented by a Discovery, all the Fury broke out from Asculum, the Deputies that were then come from the Town, being slain in the



Asculo furor omnis erupit, in ipsa quidem ludorum frequentia trucidatis, qui tum aderant ab urbe, legatis. Hoc fuit impii belli sacramentum. Inde jam passim ab omni parte Italiæ, duce & auctore belli discursante Popedio, diversa per populus & urbes signa cecinere. Nec Annibalis, nec Pyrrhi fuit tanta vastatio. Ecce Ocriculum, ecce Grumentum; ecce Fesulæ, ecce Carseoli; Reate, Nuceria, & Picentia; cædibus, ferro, & igne vastantur. Fusæ Rutillii copiæ, fusæ Cæpionis. Nam ipse Julius Cæsar exercitu amisso, quum in urbem cruentus referretur miserabili funere mediam etiam urbem perviam fecit. Sed magna populi Romani fortuna, & semper in malis major, totis denuo viribus insurrexit: aggressique singuli populos; Cato discutit Etruscos; Gabinius Marfus; Carbo Lucanos; Sylla Samnites. Strabo verum Pompeius, omnia flammis ferroque populatus, non prius finem cædium fecit, quam Asculi everfione, Manibus tot exercituum, consulum, direptarumque urbium diis litaretur.

*Midst of the Company attending at the publick Games. This was a Sort of military Engagement by Oath to this impious War. Now after this various Signals for War were given through several Nations and Cities from every Quarter of Italy, whilst Popedius, the Conductor and Cause of the War, ran up and down. Neither the Desolation made by Annibal, nor that of Pyrrhus was so great. Now Ocriculum, now Grumentum, now Fesulæ, now Carseoli, Reate, Nuceria, and Picentia are wasted by Slaughter, Fire, and Sword. Rutillius's Forces were routed, Cæpio's were routed. For Julius Cæsar having lost his Army, and being brought back into the City all bloody, made his Way through the Midst of the City with a miserable Funeral. But the great Fortune of the Roman People, and what was always greater in Distress rose up again with all its Might. And several singly fell upon the following Nations; Cato disperses the Etruscans; Gabinius the Marsians; Carbo the Lucanians; Sylla the Samnites. But Strabo Pompeius, laying all waste with Fire and Sword, made no End of slaughtering, before he had made an Atonement to the Ghosts of so many Armies and Consuls, and to the Gods of the Cities that had been plundered.*

CAP. XIX. *Bellum Servile.*

U<sup>T</sup>enque, etfi cum sociis, (nefas!) cum liberis tamen, & ingenis dimicatum est. Quis æquo animo ferat in principe gentium populo bella fervorum? Primum Servile bellum inter initia urbis, Herdonio Sabino duce, in ipsa urbe tentatum est: quum occupata tribunitiis seditonibus civitate, capitolum obsessum est, & a consule captum. Sed hic tumultus magis fuit quam bellum. Mox imperio per diversa terrarum occupato, quis crederet Siciliam multo cruentius servili, quam Punico bello esse vastatam? Terra frugum ferax, & quodammodo suburbana provincia, latifundiis civium Romanorum tenebatur. Hic ad cultum agri, frequentia ergastula, catenatique cultores, materiam bello præbuere. Syrus quidam nomine Eunus (magnitudo cladum facit, ut meminimus) fanatico furore simulato, dum Syriæ deæ comas jactat, ad libertatem & arma servos, quasi numinum imperio concitavit; idque ut divinitus

*H*owever, tho' we did engage with our Allies (wicked enough) that was with free Men, and Men free born. Who can with Patience bear with the Wars of Slaves against a People that was the Head of all Nations? The first War with Slaves was about the Beginning of the City, in the City itself, Herdonius Sabinus being their Leader: When the City being engaged in the Tribunitian Seditions, the Capitol was besieged, and taken by the Consul. But this was a Tumult rather than a War. Afterwards when the Government was engaged in different Parts of the World, who would believe that Sicily was much more bloodily wasted in this War with the Slaves, than in that with the Carthaginians? This Country fruitful in Corn, and in a Manner, a Suburban Province, was taken up by the large Estates on it of several Roman Gentlemen. Here the many Companies of Slaves, kept for the Tilling of the Ground, and fettered Husbandmen, furnished Matter for a War. A certain Syrian, by Name Eunus, (the Greatness of our Overthrows from him makes us remember him) pretending a Disturbance of Mind from a divine Inspiration; whilst he tosses his Hair in Honour of the Syrian Goddess, he raised the Slaves to fieri

fieri probaret, in ore abdita nuce, quam sulphure & igne stipaverat, leniter inspirans, flammam inter verba fundebat. Hoc miraculum primum duo millia ex obviis; mox jure belli refractis ergastulis, sexaginta amplius millium fecit exercitum: regisque, ne quid malis decellet, decoratus insignibus, castella, oppida, vicos, miserabili direptione vastavit. Quin (illud quoque ultimum belli dedecus) capta sunt castra prætorum; nec nominare ipsos pudebit, castra Manilii, Lentuli, Pisonis, Hypsæi. Itaque qui per fugitavarios distrahi debuissent, prætorios duces, profugos proelio, ipsi sequebantur. Tandem Perperna imperatore supplicium de eis sumptum est. Hic enim victos, & apud Ennam novissime obsessos, quum fami quasi pestilentia consumpsisset, reliquias latronum compedibus & catenis religavit, crucibusque punivit: fuitque de servis ovatione contentus, ne dignitatem triumphi servili inscriptione violaret.

*Chains, and punished them with Crosses; and was content with the lesser Triumph over these Slaves, that he might not sully the Dignity of the great Triumph with the Name of Slaves.*

*assume their Liberty, and take up Arms, as it were by Order of the Gods; and that he might prove this to be done by divine Direction, hiding a Nut in his Mouth, which he had crammed with Brimstone and Fire, and breathing gently upon it, he poured out Flame amidst his Words. This Miracle at first drew together two thousand of such as came in his Way; and soon after breaking open the Workhouses, by Right of War, he made up an Army of above sixty thousand Men; and being adorned with the Badges of Royal Dignity, that nothing might be wanting to complete the Misery of the Country, he laid waste, with a miserable Ravage, Castles, Cities, and Country-Towns. Nay that happened too, (the utmost Disgrace that can be received in War) the Camps of some Prætors were taken; nor shall I be ashamed to name them, the Camps of Manilius, Lentulus, Piso, and Hypsæus. And so they, who ought to have been fetched home again by Pursuivants, did themselves pursue Prætorian Generals flying from Battle. At last, when Perperna was General of the Romans, Vengeance was taken of them: For they having consumed them by Famine as it were a Pestilence, first defeated in Battle, and at last besieged at Enna: he bound the Remainder of the Rogues with Fetters and*

Vixdum respiraverat insula, quum statim a servis, & a Syro reditur ad Cilicem. Athenio pastor, interfecto domino, familiam ergastulo liberatam sub signis ordinat. Ipse, veste purpurea, argenteoque baculo, & regium in morem fronte redimita, non minorem, quam ille fanaticus prior, constat exercitum: acriusque multo, quasi & illum vindicaret, vicos, castella, oppida diripiens, in dominos, in servos infestius, quasi in transfugas, sæviebat. Ab hoc quoque Prætorii exercitus cæsi; capta Servilii castra, capta Luculli. Sed Aquilius Perpennæ usus exemplo, interclusum hostem commetatibus ad extrema compulit: communitasque copias armis, fame facile delevit: deditissentque se, nisi suppliciorum metu voluntariam mortem prætulissent. Ac ne de duce quidem supplicium exigipotuit, quamvis in manus venerit: quippe dum circa deprehendendum eum multitudo contendit, inter rixantium manus præda lacerata est.

*The Island had scarce taken Breath, when immediately they were got from Slaves; and a Syrian, to a Cilician. Athenio, a Shepherd, having slain his Master, marshals under Standards the Slaves belonging to him, being released from the Work-House. He arrayed in a Scarlet Robe; and with a Silver Batoon, and his Forehead crowned after the Manner of Kings, raised no less an Army than the former Pretender to Inspiration; and with much more Fury, as if he would revenge him; plundering Towns, Castles, and Cities; he poured out his Rage upon the Masters, but more keenly upon the Slaves, as upon Deserters. Some Prætorian Armies were cut off by him too; Servilius's Camp taken, and Lucullus's taken. But Aquilius followed the Example of Perpenna, reduced the Enemy, being cut off from all Provisions, to Extremities, and easily destroyed by Famine their Forces, which were sufficiently secured by Arms. And they would have surrendered themselves, but that, for Fear of Punishment, they preferred a voluntary Death. And Punishment of their Commander could not be had altho' he came into the Hands of the Romans; for while the Soldiers were contending about seizing him, the Prize was torn in Pieces in the Hands of the Janglers.*

CAP. XVI. *Bellum Spartacum.*

**E**Nimvero fervilium armorum dedecus feras, nam & ipsi per fortunam in omnia obnoxii, tamen quasi secundum hominum genus sunt; & in bona libertatis nostræ adoptantur. Bellum Spartaco duce concitatum, quo nomine appellem, nescio; quippe quum servi militaverint, gladiatores imperaverint: illi infimæ fortis homines, hi pessimæ, auxere ludibrio calamitatem. Spartacus, Crixus, Œnomaus, effraçto Lentuli ludo, cum triginta haud amplius ejusdem fortunæ viris eruperunt Capua, servisque ad vexillum vocatis, quum statim decem amplius millia coissent hominum, non modo effugisse contenti, jam vindicare volebant. Prima velut arena viris mons Vesuvius placuit. Ibi quum obsiderentur a Clodio Glabro, per fauces cavi montis vitigineis delapsi vinculis, ad imas ejus descendere radices: & exitu invio, nihil tale opinantis ducis subito impetu castra raptare: inde alia castra.

**Y**OU may however bear with the Disgrace of an Attack from Slaves; for tho' they be by their Circumstances obnoxious to every Thing, yet they are, as it were, a second Sort of Men, and are adopted into the Advantages of our Liberty. I know not by what Name I should call the War raised with Spartacus for its Conductor, since Slaves served as Soldiers, and Gladiators commanded; those Men of the lowest Condition, and these of the worst, increased the Misfortune of the Romans, by the Ridiculousness of it. Spartacus, Crixus, and Œnomaus, breaking Lentulus's School, sallied out from Capua with thirty Men of the same Circumstances, and no more; and inviting Slaves to their Colours, after above ten thousand Men had presently drawn together, now not content to have escaped only, they resolved to be revenged. The first Theatre for Action, as I may say, that pleased these Men, was Mount Vesuvius: There whilst they were besieged by Claudius Glaber, slipping down thro' the Entrance of a hollow Mountain with Ropes made of Vine-Branches, they got to the very Bottom thereof, and carried by virtue of this Sally out, impracticable to all Appearance, by a sudden Attack, the Camp of the

Deinceps Coram, totamq; pervagantur Campaniam. Nec villarum atque vicorum vastatione contenti, Nolam atque Nuceriam, Thurios atque Metapontum terribili strage populantur. Affluentibus in diem copiis, quum jam esset justus exercitus; e viminibus, pecudumque tegumentis inconditos sibi clypeos, e ferro ergastulorum recocto, gladios ac tela fecerunt. Ac ne quod decus justo deesset exercitui, domitis obviiis gregibus paratur equitatus; captaque de prætoribus insignia & fasces ad ducem detulere. Nec abnuit ille de stipendiario Thrace miles, de milite defertor, inde latro, deinde in honore virium gladiator, qui defunctorum quoque prælio ducum funera imperatoris celebravit exequiis, captivosque circa rogam jussit armis depugnare: quasi plane expiaturus omne præteritum dedecus, si de gladiatore munerator fuisset. Inde jam consulares quoque aggressus, in Apennino Lentuli exercitum percecudit; apud Mutinam Caii Cassii castra delevit. Quibus elatus victoriis, de invadenda urbe Romana (quod satis est turpitudini

Roman General expecting no such thing: After that another Camp. And then they stroll through Cora, and all Campania. And not content with the wasting of Country Seats and Towns, they ravage, with a terrible Destruction, Nola and Nuceria, Thurii, and Metapontum. Troops flocking in to them every Day, when now they were a complete Army, they made for themselves, of the Twigs of Trees, and Beasts' Hides, a misshapen Kind of Shields; and of the Iron belonging to the Workhouses melted down, Swords and other Weapons. And that no proper Ornament might be wanting to this complete Army, breaking all the Companies of young Horses they met with, Horse is provided; and they brought to their General other Badges of Dignity, and the Fasces taken from Prætors: Nor did he refuse them, though he was but a Roman Soldier of a stipendiary Thracian, of a Soldier a Runaway, after that a Robber, and then, for the Honour of his Strength, a Gladiator; who celebrated too the Funerals of his own General Officers that died in Battle, with the Obsequies used for Commanders, and obliged the Prisoners to fight with Arms about the Piles, just as if he should wipe off all past Disgraces, if of a Gladiator he became an Exhibiter of public Entertainments of that Kind. After that falling now upon Consular Gentlemen too, he made terrible Execution upon Lentullus's Army in the Appennine; and destroyed the Camp of Caius Cassius nostræ)

hostræ) deliberavit. Tandem etiam totis imperii viribus contra mirmillonem confurgitur: pudoremque Romanum Licinius Crassus asseruit: a quo pulsî fugatique (pudet dicere) hostes, in extrema Italiæ refugerunt. Ibi circa Brutium angulum clusi, quum fugam in Siciliam pararent, neque navigia suppeterent, ratesque ex cratibus, & dolia connexa virgultis in rapidissimo freto frustra experirentur; tandem eruptione facta, dignam viris obiere mortem: & quod sub gladiatore duce opportuit, sine missione pugnatum est. Spartacus ipse in primo agmine fortissime dimicans, quasi imperator occisus est.

*at Modena. With which Victories being elevated, he deliberated about attacking the City Rome, (which is enough for our Shame.) At last the Romans rise with all the Power of their Empire against this Mirmillo. And Licinius Crassus avenged the Shame of Rome by whom the Enemies being beaten and put to flight, (I am ashamed to call them Enemies) fled into the extreme Parts of Italy. There being shut up in a Corner of Brutium, whilst they were preparing for Flight into Sicily, having no Ships, and trying in vain, Float-Boats made of Wicker-Work, and Casks tied together with Twigs of Trees, in that most rapid narrow Sea; at last, making a Sally, they died a Death worthy of Men; and what ought to have been done under a Leader that was a Gladiator, they fought without Respite. Spartacus himself fighting in the Front, like a General, was slain,*

C A P. XXI. *Bellum Civile Marianum.*

**H**OC deerat unum populi Romani malis, jam ut ipse intra se parricidiale bellum domi stringeret; & in urbe media ac foro, quasi arena, cives cum civibus suis, gladiatorio more concurrerent. Æquiore animo utcunque ferrem, si plebei duces; aut si

**T**HIS one Thing was wanting to compleat the Misfortunes of the Roman People, that now they should enter upon a parricidal War amongst themselves, and Citizens should engage with their Fellow Citizens, after the Manner of Gladiators, in the Middle of the City and the Forum, as it were a Theatre. I should however bear it with a more pa-

nobiles,

nobiles, mali faltem, ducatum sceleri præbuis-  
sent: quum vero, pro facinus! qui viri! qui imperatores! decora & ornamenta sæculi sui Marius & Sylla, pessimo facinori suam etiam dignitatem præbuerunt. Tribus, ut sic dixerim, sideribus agitatum est: primo & levi, & modico, tumultu magis quam bello, intra ipsos armorum duces subsistente sævitia: mox atrocius, & cruentius, per totius viscera senatus grassante victoria: ultimum non civicam modo, sed hostilem quoque rabiem supergressum est; quum armorum furor totius Italiæ viribus niteretur, eoque odiis sævientibus, donec deessent, qui occiderentur. Initium & causa belli inexplebilis honorum Marii fames, dum decretam Syllæ provinciam Sulpicia lege sollicitat. Sed impatiens injuriæ statim Sylla legiones circumegit: dilatoque Mithridate, Esquilina, Collinaque porta geminum agmen urbi infudit. Unde quum consulto Sulpicius & Albinovatus objecissent catervas, fudesque & saxa undique a mœnibus ac tela jecerentur; ipse quoque jaculatus incendio viam

*tient Mind, if Plebeian Generals, or if noble ones, - however sorry ones, had lent their Conduct for the carrying on of this Villany. But when, O horrid! what Men! what Generals! the Graces and the Ornaments of their Age, Marius and Sylla, applied their Dignity for the perpetrating of this worst of Wick-edness. It was raised by three Constellations, as I may say; the Cruelty being confined amongst the Commanders in this War, in the first slight and inconsiderable Tumult, rather than a War; the Victory afterwards spreading more cruelly and more bloodily through the Bowels of the whole Senate: The last Stroke exceeded not only the Fury of Fellow Citizens, but of Eneemies too; when the Madness of the War was supported by the Strength of all Italy; their Rancour raging so far, 'till Men were wanting to be killed. The Beginning and Occasion of the War was Marius's insatiable Appetite after Honour, whilst he endeavours to procure the Province ordered for Sylla by the Sulpician Law. But Sylla not able to endure the Injury, immediately wheeled about his Legions, and putting off Mithridates, poured in two Bodies of Troops into the City, by the Esquiline and Colline Gate. In which Quarter, when Sulpicius and Albinovatus threw their Troops in his Way, and Stakes and Stones, and other Weapons were discharged upon him from all Hands from the Walls, he made his Way like-*  
fecit,



fecit, arcumque Capitolii, quæ Pœnos quoque, Gallos etiam Senones evaserat; quasi captivam victor infedit. Tum ex consulto senatus abversariis hostibus judicatis, in præsentem tribunum aliosque diversæ factionis, jure sævitum est. Marius servilis fugâ exemit; immo fortuna alteri bello reservavit. Cornelio Cinna, Cnæo Octavio consulibus, male obrutum resurrexit incendium: & quidem ab ipsorum discordia, quum de revocandis, quos senatus hostes judicaverat, ad populum referretur. Cinna quidem gladiis concione, sed vincens quibus pax & quies potior, profugus patria sua Cinna confugit ad partes. Reddit ab Africa Marius, clade major: siquidem carcer, catenæ, fuga, exilium, horrificaverant dignitatem. Itaque ad nomen tanti viri late concurritur: servitia (pro nefas!) & ergastula armantur: & facile invenit exercitum miser imperator. Itaque vi patriam reposcens, unde vi fuerat expulsus, poterat videri jure agere, nisi causam suam sævitia corrumpere. Sed quum diis hominibusque infes-

wise by Fire, and carrying his Point, possessed himself of the Castle of the Capitol, which had escaped the Carthaginians, and the Galli Senones too. Then his Adversaries being declared Enemies by a Vote of the Senate, great Severity was by Law executed upon the Tribune there present, and others of the opposite Faction. Flight fit only for a Slave delivered Marius; nay, Fortune reserved him for another War. When Cornelius Cinna and Cnæus Octavius were Consuls, the Fire that had been but badly smothered, broke out again; and indeed from a Difference betwixt themselves, upon a Bill being preferred to the People for the recalling of those whom the Senate had declared Enemies. The Assembly being indeed provided with Swords, but yet those prevailing, with whom Peace and Quiet were preferable to the contrary; Cinna was banish'd his Country, and fled to the Party abroad. Marius returns from Africa, the greater for his De-feat. For a Prison, Chains, Flight and Banishment, had render'd his Dignity dreadful. Wherefore there was a mighty Concourse of the People to him upon account of the Name of so great a Man. Slaves (O abominable!) and Servants are armed, and the calamitous General easily found an Army. Wherefore demanding his Restoration to his Country by violence, from whence he had been expelled by

tus rediret, statim primo impetu cliens & alumna urbis Ostia, nefanda strage diripitur; mox in urbem quadruplici agmine intratur. Dividere copias Cinna, Marius, Carbo, Sertorius. Hic postquam manus omnis Octavii depulsa Janiculo est; statim ad principum cædem signo dato, aliquanto lævius, quam aut in Punica, aut in Cimbrica urbe, sævitur. Octavii consulis caput pro rostris exponitur; Antonii consularis in Marii ipsius mensis. Cæsares a Fimbria in penetibus domorum suarum trucidantur; Crassi pater & filius in mutuo alter alterius aspectu: Bæbium atque Numitorium per medium forum unci traxere carnificum: Catulus se ignis haustu ludibrio hostium exemit: Merula flamen dialis in Capitolio Jovis ipsius oculos venarum cruore respergit: Ancharius ipso vidente Mario confossus est, quia fatalem illam scilicet manum non porrexerat salutanti. Hæc tot senatus funera intra calendæ & idus Januarii mensis, septima illa Marii purpura dedit. Quid futurum fuit, si annum consulatus impleisset? Scipione Nor-

*Violence, he might have seemed to act in a fair War, had he not spoiled his Cause by his Cruelty. But as he returned incensed against Gods and Men, immediately upon the very first Attempt, Ostia, the Client, and Foster-Child of the City, is ravaged with miserable Havock. After that they enter the City in four Bodies: Cinna, Marius, Carbo and Sertorius divided the Troops amongst them. Here, after the whole Body of Octavius was driven from the Janiculum, the Signal being immediately given for the Slaughter of all the Leading Men, something more of Cruelty is practised, than ever had been either in a Carthaginian or a Cimbrick City. The Head of Octavius the Consul is exposed upon the Rostra, and that of Antonius, a Consular Gentleman, upon the Tables of Marius himself; the Cæsars are slain in their own Houses by Fimbria; the Crassus's, Father and Son, in one another's Sight; the Hook of the Executioners dragged Bæbium and Numitorium through the Middle of the Forum. Catulus delivered himself from the Mockery of the Enemy by the swallowing of Fire. Merula, the Priest of Jupiter, in the Capitol sprinkled the Eyes of Jupiter himself with the Blood of his Veins. Ancharius was stabbed, whilst Marius himself looked on, because for sooth he had not held out the fatal Hand to him upon saluting him. These several Murders of the Senators did*

banoq;

banoque consulibus, tertius ille turbo civilis insanie toto furore detonuit: quippe quum hinc octo legiones, & quingentæ cohortes starent in armis, inde ab Asia cum victore exercitu Sylla properaret. Et sane quum tam ferus in Syllanos Marius fuisset, quanta sævitia opus erat, ut Sylla de Mario vindicaretur? Primum apud Capuam sub amne Vulturno signa concurrunt: & statim Norbani fufus exercitus; statim omnes Scipionis copię, ostentata spe pacis oppressæ. Tum Marius juvenis, & Carbo consules, quasi desperata victoria, ne inulti perirent, in antecessum sanguine senatus sibi parentabant obfessaque curia, sic de senatu quasi de carcere, qui jugularentur, educti. Quid funerum in foro, in circo, in patentibus templis? Nam Quintus Mucius Scævola pontifex Vestales amplexus aras, tantum non eodem igne sepelitur. Lamponius atque Telesinus Samnitum duces, atrocius Pyrrho & Annibale Campaniam Etruriamque populantur: & sub specie partium se vindicant. Apud Sacriportum, Collinamque portam debel-

*that seventh Consulship of Marius produce, betwixt the Cædends and the Ides of January. What would have been, if he had finished the Year of his Consulship? When Scipio and Norbanus were Consuls, that third Storm of Civil Madness thundered down with all its Fury: For on one Side were eight Legions, and 500 Battallions in Arms and the other Sylla was hastening with his victorious Army from Asia. And indeed since Marius had been so cruel against Sylla's Party, what Cruelty was there Occasion for, that Sylla might be revenged of Marius? The Standards met first at Capua, hard by the River Vulturnus, and immediately Norbanus's Army was routed; immediately too all the Forces of Scipio, by giving them Hopes of Peace, were taken. Then young Marius and Carbo the Consuls, as if the Victory was desperate, that they might not fall unrevenge'd, made an Atonement to themselves beforehand by the Blood of the Senate; and having besieged the House, several were drawn out of the Senate as out of a Gaol, to be slaughtered. What dead Bodies were there in the Forum, in the Circus, and in the open Temples? For the High Priest Quintus Mucius Scævola embracing the Vestal Altars, is well nigh buried in the same Fire. Lamponius and Telesinus, Generals of the Samnites, waste Campania and Etruria more cruelly than Pyrrhus and*

latae omnes hostium copiae. Ibi Marius, hic Telefinus oppressi. Nec idem tamen caedium, qui belli finis fuit. Stricti enim in pace gladii: animadversumque in eos, qui se sponte dederant. Minus est, quod apud Sacriportum, & apud Collinam portam septuaginta amplius millia Sylla concidit; bellum erat. Quatuor millia deditorum inermium civium in villa publica interfici iussit. Isti tot in pace, non plures sunt. Quis autem illos potest computare, quos in urbe passim, quisquis voluit, occidit: donec admonente Furfidio, *Vivere aliquot debere, ut essent quibus imperarent*; proposita est ingens illa tabula; & ex ipso equestris ordinis flore ac senatus, duo millia electi, qui mori juberentur: novi generis edictum. Piget post hæc referre, ludibrio habita fata Carbonis, fata Sorani Prætoris, atque Venuleii: Bæbium sine ferro, ritu ferarum, inter manus laniatum: Mariam ducis ipsius fratrem apud Catuli sepulchrum oculis, manibus, cruribusque defossis, servatum aliquandiu, ut per singula mem-

*Annibal, and revenge themselves under Pretence of Party. All the Enemies Forces were overthrown at Sacriportum, and the Colline Gate. There Marius, here Telefinus were defeated. But yet there was not the same End made of Slaughter, that there was of the War. For Swords were drawn in Peace too, and they were punished, that had voluntarily surrendered themselves. It is a less Matter, that Sylla killed above seventy thousand at Sacriportum, and the Colline Gate: There was then a War. He ordered four thousand of the unarmed Citizens, that had submitted, to be slain in the publick Villa. Those are so many in Peace, no more. But who can reckon those, whom every one that would, killed up and down in the City; 'till upon Furfidius's, putting him in Mind, That some ought to live, that there might be some for them to rule over, that huge Table was hung up, and two thousand were selected out of the very Flower of the Equestrian Order, and the Senate, who were ordered to die An Edict this was of a new Kind. After those Things, it's tedious to relate that the Death, of Carbon, Soranus the Prætor, and Venuleius, were matter of Sport; that Bæbium was torn in Pieces by the Hands of Men, without the Sword, after the Manner of wild Beasts; that Marius the General's Brother, having his Eyes struck out, and his Hands*  
bra

bra moreretur. Positis singulorum hominum fere pœnis, municipia Italiæ splendidissima sub hasta venierunt, Spoletium, Interamnium, Præneste, Florentia. Nam Sulmonem, vetus oppidum socium atque amicum (facinus indignum!) nondum expugnatum, ut obsides jure belli, & modo morte damnati duci jubebantur: sic damnatam civitem jussit Sylla deleri.

C A P. XXII. *Bellum Sertorianum.*

**B**ellum Sertorianum quid aliud, quam Syllanæ proscriptionis hæreditas fuit? hostile potius, an civile dixerim, nescio: quippe quod Lusitani Celtiberique Romano gesserint dūce. Exul & profugus feralis illius tabulæ, vir summæ quidem, sed calamitosæ virtutis, malis suis maria terrasque permiscuit: & jam Africæ, jam Balearibus insulis fortunam expertus, missusque in oceanum, Fortunatas insulas penetravit: tandem Hispaniam armavit. Viro cum viris facile convenit. Nec alias magis apparuit Hispani militis vigor, quam Romano dūce. Quanquam ille non contentus Hispania, ad Mithridatem quoque

*W*HAT was the Sertorian War else than the Inheritance of Sylla's Proscription? whether I shall call it a War with a foreign Enemy, or a Civil War, I know not, as what Lusitanians and Celtiberians carried on under a Roman General. This Man obliged to fly and live in Banishment by that dismal Table, a Person of great but calamitous Conduct, confounded Sea and Land by his Misfortunes; and one while tried his Fortune in Africa, another while in the Balearian Islands, and was sent into the Ocean, and penetrated the Fortunate Islands; at last too he armed Spain. A brave Man easily agrees with brave Men. Nor did the Mettle of the Spanish Soldiery ever appear more, than under a Roman General. Altho' he was not content with Spain, but looked further to Mithridates and the Pontic,

Pon-

Ponticoque respexit, regemque classe juyit. Et quid futurum fuit? satis tanto hosti uno imperatore resistere res Romana non potuit. Ad-ditus Metello Cnæus Pompeius: hi copias viri diu, & ancipiti semper acie attrivere: nec tamen prius bello, quam suorum scelere & insidiis, extinctus est. Copias ejus prope tota Hispania persequuti, diu & ancipiti semper acie domaverunt. Prima per legatos certamina habita, quum hinc Domitius, & Thorius; inde Herculeii pro-luderent: mox his apud Segoviam, illis apud Anam flumen oppressis; ipsi duces cominus invicem experti, apud Lauronem atque Sucronem æquavere clades. Tum illis ad populationem agrorum, his ad urbium excidia conversis, misera inter Romanos duces Hispania discordiæ pœnas dabat: donec oppresso domestica fraude Sertorio, victo deditoque Perperna, ipsæ quoque in Romanam fidem venere urbes, Osca, Terme, Tutia, Valentia, Auxima, & in fame nihil non experta Calaguris. Sic recepta in pacem Hispania. Victores duces ex-

and assisted the King with the Fleet. And what would have been? The Roman State could not resist so great an Enemy with one Commander only. Cnæus Pompeius was added to Metellus. These wasted the Forces of the Man a long Time, and always in dubious Fight; and yet he was not taken off by War, but by the Wickedness and Plotting of his own Friends. They pursued his Forces almost all over Spain, and were a long Time in reducing them, and always in such Fights, that the Success was dubious. The first Battles were fought by Lieutenants, when on one Side Domitius and Thorius, and on the other the Herculeii made a Flourish before the Strefs of the War came on: Soon after these being overthrown at Segovia, and the other at the River Anas, the Generals themselves trying one another in close Fight, at Lauron and Sucro, gave equal Defeats to each other. Then those falling to the Plundering of the Country, and these to the destroying of Cities, poor Spain suffered punishment for the Difference among the Roman Generals, 'till Sertorius being taken off by the Treachery of his Friends, and Perperna being defeated and delivered up, the Cities too themselves came under the Roman Subjection, i. e. Osca, Termes, Tutia, Valentia, Auxima, and Calaguris, after it had tried every Thing under the Extremity of Famine. Thus Spain was admitted to Peace.

ternum

ternum id magis quam civile bellum videri voluerunt, ut triumpharent.

*The victorious Generals had a Mind that the War should appear rather a Foreign than a Civil one, that they might triumph.*

## C A P. XXIII.

*Bellum civile sub Lepido.*

**M**arco Lepido, Quinto Catulo consulibus, civile bellum pæne citius oppressum est quam inciperet: sed quantum, lateque fax illius motus ab ipso Syllæ rogo exarsit! Cupidus namque rerum novarum per insolentiam Lepidus, acta tanti viri rescindere parabat: nec immerito, si tamen posset sine magna clade Reipublicæ. Nam quum jure belli Sylla dictator proscriptisset inimicos: qui supererant, revocante Lepido, quid aliud, quam ad bellum vocabantur? quumque damnatorum civium bona, accidente Sylla, quamvis male capta, jure tamen; repetitio eorum proculdubio labefactabat compositam civitatem. Expediebat ergo quasi ægræ faucis que reipublicæ requiescere quomodocunque; ne vulnere curatione ipsa rescinderentur. Ergo quum turbidis concionibus, velut classico civitatem terrisset, profectus in Etruri-

**W**HEN Marcus Lepidus and Quintus Catulus were Consuls, a Civil War that broke out, was suppressed almost before it begun; but how great a one, and how widely did the Flame of that Commotion spread itself from the very Funeral Pile of Sylla! For Lepidus, through the Insolence of his Temper, desirous of a Change in the Government, designed to make void the Acts of so great a Man, and not without Reason, if it could have been done without great Mischief to the Common-wealth. For Sylla the Dictator having proscribed his Enemies by the Right of War, and Lepidus recalling those that were left; for what else but a War were they recalled? And though the Estates of the condemned Citizens were by the Grant of Sylla but ill-got, yet by Law; the Demand of their Restitution did without Doubt disturb the City that was now settled. Wherefore it was expedient for the sickly and wounded Common-wealth to be quiet upon any Terms, lest their Wounds should be tore open again by the very Cure. Wherefore after he had terrified the City by several turbulent Harangues, as it were by a Signal

am,

am, arma inde & exercitum urbi admoverat. Sed jam Milvium pontem, collemque Janiculum Lutatius Catulus, Cnæusque Pompeius, Syllanæ dominationis duces atque signiferi, alio exercitu infederant. A quibus primo statim impetu retro pulsus, hostisque a senatu judicatus; incruenta fuga Etruriam, inde Sardiniam recessit; ibique morbo & pœnitentia interiit. Victores, quod non temere alias in civilibus bellis, pace contenti fuerunt.

for Battle, he went into Etruria; and brought up Arms, and an Army from thence to the City: But Lutatius Catulus; and Cnæus Pompey, the Leaders and Commanders under Sylla's Tyranny, had already possessed themselves, with another Army, of the Milvian Bridge, and the Hill of Janiculum. By whom being immediately in the first Assault repulsed, and then being declared an Enemy by the Senate, he returned by Flight, but without Bloodshed, into Etruria, and from thence withdrew to Sardinia, and there died of a Distemper and Grief of Mind. The Conquerors, which had scarce at any other Time happened in Civil Wars, were content with a Peace.





## LIBER IV.

CAP. I. *Bellum Catilinarium.*

**C**Atilinam luxuria  
 primum, tum  
 hinc conflata e-  
 gestas. rei familia-  
 ris, simul occasio, quod  
 in extremis finibus muni-  
 di arma Romana pere-  
 grinabantur; in nefaria  
 consilia opprimendæ pa-  
 triæ suæ compulere; se-  
 natum confodere, con-  
 sulestrucidare, diftringere  
 incendiis urbem, diripere  
 ærarium; totam denique  
 rempublicam funditus  
 tollere, & quicquid nec  
 Annibal videretur op-  
 taffe. Quæ omnia qui-  
 bus (O nefas!) fociis  
 aggressus est? ipse pa-  
 tricius; sed hoc minus  
 est: Curii, Porcii, Syllæ,  
 Cethegi, Autronii, Var-  
 gunteii atque Longini;  
 quæ familiæ! quæ sena-  
 tus insignia! Lentulus  
 quoque tum maxime  
 prætor. Hos omnes im-  
 manissimi facinoris satel-

**I**N the first Place Luxury, and  
 then the Want of an Estate  
 occasioned thereby, and at the  
 same time a fair Opportunity,  
 because the Roman Arms were  
 then abroad in the remotest Parts  
 of the World, pushed on Catiline  
 to the villainous Intention of ruin-  
 ing his Country; he attempted  
 to murder the Senate, assassinate  
 the Consuls, to distract the City by  
 firing it in several Places at once,  
 to plunder the Treasury, and,  
 finally, utterly to subvert the  
 whole Common-wealth, and to do  
 what Annibal does not seem to  
 have wisked for. All which things  
 with what Accomplices (O abo-  
 minable!) did he undertake? he  
 himself a Nobleman. But this  
 is a small Matter. The Curii,  
 the Porcii, the Syllæ, the Cethegi,  
 the Autronii, Vargunteii and  
 Longini; what Families were  
 engaged! what Ornaments of  
 the Senate! Lentulus too at that  
 Time Prætor. All these he had  
 to support him in this most horrid  
 Villainy. Human Blood was added  
 lites

lites habuit. Additum est pignus conjurationis, sanguis humanus: quem circumlatum pateris bibere: summum nefas, nisi amplius esset propter quod hiberunt. Actum erat de pulcherrimo imperio, nisi illa conjuratio in Ciceronem & Antonium consules incidisset: quorum alter industria reni patefecit, alter manu oppressit. Tanti sceleris incidum per Fulviam emerfit, vilissimum scortum, sed parricidii innocens. Tum Consul habito senatu, in præsentem reum Cicero peroravit: sed non amplius profectum, quam ut hostis evaderet, seque, palam professo, incendium suum extincturum ruina minaretur. Et ille quidem ad præparatum a Manlio in Etruria exercitum proficisitur, signa illaturus urbi. Lentulus destinatum familiæ suæ Sibyllinis versibus regnum sibi vaticinans, ad præstitutum a Catilina diem, urbe tota viros, faces, tela disponit. Nec civili conspiratione contentus legatis Allobrogum, qui tum forte aderant, in arma sollicitatis, iisset ultra Alpes furor, nisi altera proditione Vulturcii pretoris literæ

as a Pledge of the Conspiracy; which was carried about in Bowls, and drunk amongst them; itself the greatest Wickedness, but that was a greater for which they drunk it. There had been an End of the most glorious Empire, had not that Conspiracy fallen upon the Consuls Cicero and Anthony; one of which discovered the whole Matter by his Industry, the other suppressed it by Force. The Discovery of so great a Wickedness came out by Fulvia, a most vile Strumpet, but not willing to be guilty of Parricide. Upon that the Consul Cicero calling the Senate, made an Harangue against the Person accused there present. But no more was effected thereby, than that the Enemy made off, and openly declared and threatened that he would extinguish his Fire by a Fall of Houses. And he indeed goes to an Army prepared by Manlius in Etruria, designing to bring up the Standards to the City. Lentulus promising himself the Sovereignty destined to his Family by the Sibylline Verses, disposes of Men, Torches and Weapons all over the City against the Day appointed by Catiline. And not satisfied with a Conspiracy carried on by Citizens only, the Embassadors of the Allobroges, who by chance were then present at Rome, being drawn in to join their Arms, this mad Humour had gone beyond the Alps, had not the Prætor's Letter been intercepted by another Discovery of Vulturcius. Immetene-

tenerentur. Statim Ciceronis imperio injecta est barbaris manus. Palam prætor in senatu convincitur. De supplicio agentibus, Cæsar parcendum dignitati; Cato animadvertendum pro scelere censebat. Quam sententiam sequutis omnibus, in carcere parricidæ strangulantur. Quamvis parte conjurationis oppressa, tamen ab incepto Catilina non destitit; sed infestis ab Etruria signis patriam petens, obvio Antonii exercitu opprimitur. Quam atrociter dimicatum sit, exitus docuit. Nemo hostium bello superfuit: quem quis in pugnando ceperat locum, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat. Catilina longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est; pulcherrima morte, si pro patria sic concidisset.

*d'ately Hands were laid upon the Barbarians by Cicero's Order. The Prætor is manifestly convicted in the Senate. When they came to debate about their Punishment, Cæsar was of Opinion, they ought to be spared in regard to their Dignity; Cato, that they ought to be punished according to their Wickedness. Which Advice all following, the Parricides are accordingly strangled in Prison. Though one Part of the Conspiracy was now gone, yet Catiline did not desist from his Enterprize. But coming against his native City with Standards ready for Fight from Etruria, he was overthrown by Anthony's Army that met him. How desperately they fought, the Event shewed. None of the Enemies survived the Battle. The Place that every one had received in fighting, that he covered with his Body, after he had lost his Life. Cataline was found a great way from his Men amongst the Carcasses of his Enemies, dying a most glorious Death, had he fallen so for his Country.*

C A P. II. *Bellum Cæsaris & Pompeii.*

J A M pæne toto orbe pacato, majus erat imperium Romanum, quam ut ullis externis viribus extinguì possset. Itaque invidens fortuna principi gentium populo, ipsum illum in exitium

**T**H E whole World almost being now conquered, the Roman Empire was greater, than that it could be ruined by any Foreign Power. Wherefore Fortune envying this People, the Chief of Nations, armed themselves for their own Destruction. The

suum

suam armavit: ac Mariana quidem Cinnamque rabies intra urbem præluserat, quasi experiretur. Syllana tempestas latius, intra Italiam tamen, detonuerat. Cæsaris furor atque Pompeii, urbem, Italiam, gentes, nationes, totum denique, qua patebat imperium quodam quasi diluvio & inflammatione corripuit: adeo ut non recte tantum *civile* dicatur: ac ne *sociale* quidem; sed nec *externum*: sed potius *commune quoddam ex omnibus, & plus quam bellum*. Quippe si duces ejus inspicias; totus senatus in partibus: si exercitus; hinc undecim legiones, inde decem & octo, flos omnis & robur Italici sanguinis: si auxilia sociorum; hinc Gallici Germanique delectus: inde Deiotarus, Ariobarzanes, Tarchondimotus, Cotys, omne Thraciæ, Cappadociæque Ciliciæ, Macedoniæ, Græciæ, Ætoliæ, totiusque robur Orientis: si moram belli, quatuor anni, & pro clade rerum breve tempus: si locum & spatium ubi commissum est; intra Italiam: inde se in Galliam Hispaniamque deflexit: reversumque ab occasu, totis

*Madness of Marius and Cinna, had made a kind of Prelude within the City, as if it had been by way of Trial. The Storm of Sylla thundered farther, but yet kept within Italy. The Madness of Cæsar and Pompey over-rum the City, Italy, Nations and Countries, finally, the whole Empire, wherever it extended, with a Deluge and Fire as it were; so that it cannot be rightly called a Civil War only, nor a Social one indeed; nay nor a Foreign one, but rather one made out of all those and more than a War. For if you consider the Commanders in it, the whole Senate was on one Side or other. If you consider the Armies, on one Side there were eleven Legions, and the other eighteen, all the Flower and Strength of the Breed of Italy. If you consider the auxiliary Forces of our Allies, on one Side were the Gallick and German Levies; on the other Deiotarus, Ariobarzanes, Tarchondimotus, Cotys, all the Strength of Thrace and Cappadocia, Cilicia, Macedonia, Greece, Ætolia, and all the East. If you consider the Continuance of the War, it was four Years, and but a short Time for the Havock made therein. If you consider the Place and Space where the War was carried on, it was begun within Italy; from thence it took a turn into Gaul and Spain, and returning from the West, sat down with all its Force in Epire and Thessaly; after that*  
viribus

viribus in Epiro Theſſa-  
liaque confedit: hinc in  
Ægyptum ſubito tranſi-  
lit: inde reſpexit Aſi-  
am; inde Africæ incu-  
buit: poſtremo in Hiſpa-  
niam regyavit: & ibi  
aliquando defecit. Sed  
non & odia partium fi-  
nita cum bello. Non  
enim prius quievire,  
quam in urbe ipſa, me-  
dio ſenatu, eorum qui  
victi erant odia victoris  
ſeſe cæde ſatiarent. Cau-  
ſa tantæ calamitatis. ea-  
dem quæ omnium, ni-  
mia felicitas. Siquidem  
Quincto Metello, Lucio  
Afranio conſulibus, quum  
Romana majeſtas toto  
orbe polleret, recentef-  
que victorias, Ponticos &  
Armenios triumphos in  
Pompeianis theatris Ro-  
ma cantaret: nimia Pom-  
peii potentia apud otio-  
ſos, ut ſolet, cives movit  
invidiam. Metellus ob  
imminutum Cretæ tri-  
umphum; Cato adver-  
ſus potentes ſemper ob-  
liquus, detrectare Pom-  
peium, actiſque ejus ob-  
ſtrepere. Hinc dolor  
tranſverſum egit: & ad  
præſidia dignitati paran-  
da impulit. Forte tunc  
Cræſſus genere, divitiis,  
dignitate florebat: vellet  
tamen auctiores opes:  
Caius Cæſar eloquentia,  
& ſpiritu, ecce jam con-

*it ſuddenly paſſ'd over into E-  
gypt; from thence it caſts its View  
to Aſia, and after that fell upon  
Africa. Afterwards it wheeled  
about into Spain, and there at  
laſt ended. But the Animofities  
of the Parties were not ended  
with the War. For they ceaſed  
not, 'till the Hatred of thoſe  
who had been conquered, glutted  
itſelf with the Aſſaſſination of  
the Conqueror, in the City itſelf,  
and in the miſt of the Senat.  
The Cauſe of this mighty Calami-  
tity was the ſame as that of all  
the reſt, exceſſive good Fortune.  
For in the Conſulſhip of Quinctus  
Metellus and Lucius Afranius,  
when the Majeſty of Rome pre-  
vailed all the World over, and  
Rome ſung her late Victories, the  
Triumphs over Pontus and Arme-  
nia, in the Theatres of Pompey;  
the overgrown Power of Pompey  
raiſed, as it is wont to happen,  
a popular Odium againſt him,  
amongſt the idle Citizens. Me-  
tellus, for the leſſening his Tri-  
umph over Crete; and Cato, who  
was always ready to thwart the  
Great, endeavour'd to leſſen Pom-  
pey, and made a Clamour againſt  
his Tranſactions. His Reſentment  
of this drew him aſide, and put  
him upon providing ſome Security  
for his Dignity. By chance at that  
Time Cræſſus made a Figure for  
Family, Riches and Honour;  
but yet was deſirous to have his  
Power ſtill greater. Caius Cæſar  
was become conſpicuous by his Elo-  
quence, briſk Spirit, and now the  
Conſulſhip too. Yet Pompey towered*

fulatu allevabatur: Pompeius tamen super utrumque eminebat. Sic igitur Cæsare dignitatem comparare, Crasso augere, Pompeio retinere cupientibus, omnibusque pariter potentiæ cupidis, de invadenda republica facile convenit. Ergo quum mutuis viribus in suum quisque decus nitetur, Galliam Cæsar invadit, Crassus Asiam, Pompeius Hispaniam: tres maximos exercitus: & jam sic orbis imperium societate trium principum occupatur. Decem annos traxit ista dominatio. Exinde, quoniam mutuo metu tenebantur, Crassi morte apud Parthos, & morte Juliæ Cæsaris filiae, que nupta Pompeio generi focique; concordiam matrimonii foedere tenebat statim æmulatio erupit. Jam Pompeio suspectæ Cæsaris opes, & Cæsari Pompeiana dignitas gravis. Nec hic ferebat parem, nec ille superiorem. Nefas! sic de principatu laborabant, tanquam duos tanta imperii fortuna non caperet. Ergo Lentulo Marcelloque consulibus, rupta prima conjurationis fide, de successione Cæsaris senatus, id est Pompeius, agita-

above them both. And accordingly, Cæsar being desirous to attain more Dignity, Crassus to increase his, and Pompey to retain his and all of them being equally fond of Power, they easily agreed to seize the Management of Affairs. Wherefore whilst with mutual Strength each endeavoured to advance his Glory, Cæsar takes the Province of Gaul, Crassus Asia, Pompey Spain; and three great Armies they got amongst them. And thus the Empire of the World is seized by a Confederacy of these three great Men. That Dominion of theirs held for ten Years. After that, because they were restrained before by the Fear of one another upon the Death of Crassus among the Parthians, and the Death of Julia, Cæsar's Daughter, who having been married to Pompey, kept up a good Understanding betwixt the Son-in-Law and his Father, by the League of Matrimony, immediately an Emulation broke out. The Power of Cæsar was now suspected by Pompey, and the dignity of Pompey was troublesome to Cæsar. This Man could not bear an Equal, nor the other a Superior. O abominable! they struggle so for the Preheminence, as if the Fortune of so great an Empire could not admit of two. Wherefore when Lentulus and Marcellus were Consuls; the Faith of this Confederacy being first broken, the Senate, that is, Pompey, began to think of somebody to suc-

bat:

bat: nec ille abnuebat, si ratio sui proximis comitiis haberetur. Consulatus absenti, quem decem tribuni plebis, favente Pompeio, nuper decreverant, tum dissimulante eodem, negabatur. *Veniret & peteret majorum more.* Ille contra flagitare decreta: ac, nisi in fide permanerent, non se remittere exercitum. Ergo ut in hostem decernitur.

continued firm to their Promise, he would not part with his Army. *Wherefore a Vote of the Senate is passed against him at an Enemy.*

His Cæsar agitated, statuit præmia armorum armis defendere: Prima civilis bellis arena Italia fuit: cuius arces levibus præfidiis Pompeius infederat: sed omnia subito Cæsar's impetu oppressa sunt. Prima Ariminio signa cecinerunt: tum pulsus Etruria Libo, Umbria Thermus, Domitius Corfinio. Et peractum erat bellum sine sanguine, si Pompeium Brundisii opprimere potuisset: & ceperat, sed ille per obsessi claustra portus, nocturna fuga evasit. Turpe dictu! modo princeps patrum, pacis belli quemoderator, per

ceed Cæsar: Nor did he refuse to comply with this, if a Regard might but be had to him in the ensuing Election. But the Consulship, which the ten Tribunes had lately procured him the Privilege of standing for, though absent, Pompey himself siding with them, but then taking no Notice, was denied him. It was insisted upon that he should come, and sue for the Consulship after the Manner of their Ancestors. He, on the other hand, demanded the Performance of their Decrees; and declared, unless they conti-

Cæsar being provoked at these Proceedings, resolves to maintain the Advantages of his Arms by Arms. The first Place of Action in this Civil War was Italy; the Forts of which Pompey had possessed himself of by slight Garrisons; but all these were overpowered upon the sudden Arrival of Cæsar. The first Signal for Battle was sounded from Ariminum. Then Libo was forced from Etruria, Thermus from Umbria, and Domitius from Corfinium. And the War had been ended without Bloodshed, if he could have mastered Pompey at Brundisium; and he was near taking him, but he got off by Flight in the Night-time, through the Barricade of the besieged Harbour. It is scandalous to speak of He that was lately the Head of

triumphatum a se mare, lacera & pæne inermi nave fugiebat. Nec Pompeius ab Italia, quam senatus ab urbe, fugatur prior: quam pæne vacuum metu Cæsar ingressus, consulem se ipse facit. Ærarium quoque sanctum, quia tardius aperiebant tribuni, iussit effringi: censumque & patrimonium populi Romani ante rapuit, quam imperium. Fulso fugatoque Pompeio, maluit prius ordinare provincias, quam ipsum sequi. Siciliam & Sardiniam, annonæ pignora, per legatos habet. Nihil hostile erat in Gallia pacem ipse fecerat. Sed ad Hispanienses Pompeii exercitus transeunti per eam duci portas claudere ausa Massilia est. Misera, dum cupit pacem, belli metu in bellum incidit: sed quia tuta muris erat, vinci eam sibi iussit absentis. Græcula civitas, non pro mollitie nominis, & vallum rumpere, & incendere machinas ausa, & congregi navibus: sed Brutus, cui mandatum erat bellum, victos terra marique perdomuit. Mox dedentibus sese ablata omnia præter, quam potiore omnibus habebant, libertatem. An-

*the Senate, the umpire of Peace and War, fled over the Sea, over which he had lately triumphed, in a Ship battered, and almost unrigged: Nor is Pompey driven from Italy, before the Senate is forced from the City; which Cæsar entering, left almost empty for fear of him, makes himself consul. He ordered too the sacred treasury to be broken open, because the Tribunes were slow in opening it; and seized the Estate and Patrimony of the Roman People, before he seized their Empire. Pompey being driven off and forced to fly, he chose rather to settle the Provinces behind, than to pursue him. He holds Sicily and Sardinia, those Granaries of Corn, by his Lieutenants. There was no Enemy in Gaul; he had made Peace there. But Marsellies had the Courage to shut its Gates, against the General, as he passed through it to the Spanish Armies of Pompey. The poor City, whilst it desires Peace, falls into a War, through the Fear of War. But because it was secured with good Walls, he ordered it to be reduced for him in his Absence. This Græcian City ventured to break through the Enemies Line of Circumvallation, and fire their Engines of War, and engage them with their Ships, in a Manner not answerable to the Softness of their Name. But Brutus, to whom the Management of the War had been committed, defeated them by Land and Sea, and absolutely subdued them. Soon*  
ceps,



ceps, variumque, et cruentum in Hispania bellum cum legatis Cnæi Pompeii Petreio & Afranio; quos Ilerdæ castra habentes, apud Sicorim amnem obsidere, & ab oppido intercludere aggredditur. Interim obundatione verni fluminis, comineatibus prohibetur. Sic fame castra tentata sunt: obsessorque ipse quasi obsidebatur. Sed ubi pax fluminis rediit, populationibus & pugnæ campos aperuit; iterum ferox instat: cedentes ad Celtiberiam consequutus, aggere & vallo, ac per hæc siti, ad deditiōnem compulit.

*Enemies, and overtaking them in their Flight to Celtiberia, he obliged them by a Mole and a Line, and by that Means Thirst, to a Surrender.*

Sic citerior Hispania recepta est; nec ulterior moram fecit. Quid enim una post quinque legiones? Itaque ultro cedente Varrone, Gades, fretum, oceanus, omnia felicitatem Cæsaris sequebantur. Aliquid tamen adversus absentem ducem ausa fortuna est circa Illyricum & Africam: quasi de industria profpera ejus adversis radiarentur. Quippe quum fauces Adriatici maris

*after, upon their submitting themselves, all Things were taken from them, besides what they held more dear than all Things, their Liberty. The War in Spain with the Lieutenants of Cnæus Pompey, Petreius and Afranius, was dubious, various, and bloody; whom having their Camp at Ilerda, he attempts to besiege nigh the River Sicoris, and cut off their Communication with the Town. In the mean Time he is cut off from all Provisions, by an Inundation of the River, which uses to overflow its Banks in Spring Thus his Camp was attacked with Famine; and the Besieger was himself as it were besieged. But when the Fall of the River returned, it laid open the Plains for Plundering and Battle: and he again hotly presses upon the*

*Thus Hither Spain was taken in. Nor did the Further Spain make any great Delay to submit: For what could one do after five Legions? Accordingly Varro quickly submitting, Gades, the Streights, the Ocean, and all other Places followed the good Fortune of Cæsar. Yet Fortune ventured to do something against the absent General in Illyricum and Africa, as if it were on purpose that his Prosperity might be set off with a little ill Success. For when Dolabella and Anthony, who were ordered to secure the*

jussi occupare Dolabella & Antonius, ille Illyrico, hic Curictico littore castra posuissent: jam maria late tenente Pompeio, repente legatus ejus Octavius Libo ingentibus copiis classicorum circumvenit utrumque. Deditio- nem fames extorsit Antonio. Missæ quoque a Basilo in auxilium ejus rates, quales inopia navium fecerat, nova Pompeianorum arte Cilicum, actis sub mare funibus, captæ quasi per indaginem. Duas tamen æstus explicuit. Una, quæ Opitergerinos ferebat, in vadis hæsit, memorandumque posteris exitum dedit. Quippe vix mille juvenum manus, circumfusi undique exercitus per totum diem tela sustinuit: & quum exitum virtus non haberet, tamen ne in deditio- nem veniret, hortante tribuno Vulteio, mutuis ictibus in se concurrat. In Africa quoque par & virtus & calamitas Curionis fuit: qui ad recipiendam provinciam missus, pulso fugatoque Varo jam superbus, subitum Jubbæ regis adventum, equitatumque Maurorum sustinere non potuit. Patebat victo fuga: sed pudor suavit ut amissum sua te-

*Entrance of the Adriatic Sea, had pitched their Camps, the former in Illyricum, and the latter upon the Shore of Curicta. Pompey being now far and wide in Possession of the Seas, on a sudden his Lieutenant Octavius Libo surrounds them with a vast Number of Men from the Fleet. Hunger forced a Submission from Anthony. Some flat Boats too sent to his Assistance by Basilius, such as the Want of Ships had obliged them to make, were taken as it were by setting Nets with Ropes laid under the Sea, a new contrivance of the Cilicians in Pompey's Fleet yet the Working of the Sea brought off two of them. One that carried the Opitergerini, stuck upon the Flats, and made an Exit memorable to Posterity. For a Body of hardly a thousand Men received the Weapons of an Army drawn around them on both Sides for a whole Day; and when their Bravery had no Way to come off, yet that they might not submit to the Meanness of a Surrender, at the Instigation of the Tribune Vulteius, they fell to it amongst themselves, and dispatched one another with mutual Strokes. In Africa too, the Bravery and the Misfortune of Curio were equal to this Instance; who being sent to take in that Province, and elevated with the defeating and putting to flight Varus, could not withstand the sudden Arrival of King Juba, and the Horse of the Moors. Flight was practicable enough for him, tho' defeated; meritate*

meritate exercitum morte sequeretur. Sed jam debitum par fortuna flagitante, sedem bello Pompeius Epiron elegerat: nec Cæsar moratur. Quippe ordinatis a tergo omnibus, quamvis hyems media prohiberet tempestate, ad bellum navigavit: positisque ad Oricum castris, quum pars exercitus, ob inopiam navium cum Antonio relicta, Brundusii moram faceret; adeo impatiens erat, ut ad arcessendos eos, ardente ventis mari, nocte concubia, speculatorio navigio, solus ire tentaverit. Extat ad trepidum tanto discrimine gubernatorem vox ipsius: *Quid times? Cæsarem vehis.* Contractis in unum undique copiis, positisque cominus castris, diversa erant ducum consilia. Cæsar pro natura ferox, & conficiendæ rei cupidus ostentare aciem, provocare, laceßere: nunc obsidione castrorum, quæ sedecim millium vallo obduxerat: (sed quid his obseslet obsidio, qui patente mari omnibus copiis abundarent?) nunc expugnatione Dyrrachii irrita; (quippe quam vel situs inexpugnabilem faceret) ad hoc assiduis in eruptionem hostium præ-

*but Shame prevailed with him to follow with his Death, the Army that was lost by his Rashness. But now Fortune calling for the Pair of Generals, due to her Entertainment by the Decrees of Fate, Pompey chose Empire for the Seat of the War; nor is Cæsar backward. For having settled all Things in his Rear, tho' Mid-Winter opposed it by a Storm, he sailed to the War; and pitching his Camp at Oricum, when Part of the Army, left for want of Ships with Anthony, made some Stay at Brundisium, he was so impatient, that he attempted to go alone to fetch them at Midnight, in a Scout-Ship, tho' the Sea was very boisterous with the Winds. There goes a Saying of his to the Master, trembling with the Apprehension of so great a Danger, What art thou afraid of? thou carriest Cæsar. Having drawn all his Forces together from all Parts, and pitched his Camp near the Enemy, the Designs of the Generals were very different. Cæsar by Nature daring, and desirous of dispatching the Business, shewed his Army, challenged and attacked the Enemy, one while by besieging his Camp, which he had inclosed with a Line of sixteen Miles in Length; (but what Hurt could the Siege do them, who, the Sea being open for them, abounded with all manner of Stores?) another while by a fruitless Attack upon Dyrrachium (which its very Situation rendered impregnable).*

liis; (quo tempore egregia virtus Scævæ centurionis emicuit, cujus in scuto centum atque viginti tela federe) jam vero direptione urbium sociarum, quum Oricum, & Gomphos, & alia castella Thessaliæ vastaret.

Pompeius adversus hæc neçtere moras, tergiversari simul, ut hostem interclusum undique inopia commeatuum tereret, utque ardentissimi ducis consensesceret impetus. Nec diutius profuit duci salutare consilium: milites otium, socii moram, principes ambitum ducis increpabant. Sic præcipitantibus fatis, prælio sumpta est Thessalia: & Philippicis campis, Urbis, Imperii, generis humani fata commissa sunt. Nunquam ullo loco tantum virium populus Romanus, tantum dignitatis fortuna vidit. Trecenta amplius millia hinc vel illinc, præter auxilia regum, & nationum. Nunquam imminentis ruinæ manifestiora prodigia, fuga victimarum; examina in signis; interdiu tenebræ: dux ipse & nocturna imagine theatri sui audiens plau-

against the Sallies of the Enemies; (at which Time the extraordinary Bravery of Scæva the Centurion appeared, in whose Shield a hundred and twenty Weapons were fixed) and then again by plundering of Cities that were Friends to Pompey, when he wasted Oricum and Gomphi, and other Castles of Thessaly.

Pompey in Opposition to those Things, made use of various Delays, declined fighting, at once to consume the Enemy, confined on all Hands with the Want of Provisions, and that the Fury of this violent General might wear off. But the General's good Conduct did not long avail him: The Soldiers found fault with the unactive State they were in, our Allies with the Continuance of the War, and the Grandees of the Army railed at the General's Ambition. Thus the Fates hurrying him on, Thessaly was made Choice of for Battle, and the Fortune of the City, Empire, and Mankind was committed to the Plains of Phillippi. Fortune never saw so much Strength of the Roman People, so much Dignity in one Place. Three hundred thousand on one Side and the other, besides the auxiliary Forces of Kings and Nations. There never were more manifest Signs of approaching Ruin, as the Flight of Victims, Swarms of Bees settling upon the Standards, Darknes in the Day-time; the General himself, in a Dream by Night, bear-

sum, in modum planctus circumsonare; & mane cum pullo (nefas!) apud principia conspectus. Nunquam acrior neque alacrior exercitus Cæsaris fuit: inde classica prius, inde tela. Annotatum quoque committentis aciem Craſtini pilum: qui mox adacto in os gladio, sic inter cadavera reperi- tus, libidinem ac rabiem qua pugnaverat, ipsa no- vitate vulneris præfere- bat. Sed nec minus ad- mirabilior illius exitus belli. Quippe quum Pompeius adeo equitum copia abundaret, ut faci- le circumventurus sibi Cæsarem videretur: circumventus ipse est. Nam quum diu æquo Marte contenderent, iussuque Pompeii fusus a cornu erupisset equitatus; re- pente hinc signo dato, Germanorum cohortes tantum in effusos equites fecere impetum, ut illi esse pedites, hi venire in equis viderentur. Hanc stragem fugientis equita- tus, levis armaturæ ruina comitata est. Tunc ter- rore latius dato, turban- tibus invicem copiis, reli- qua strages quasi una ma- nu facta est: nec ulla res magis exitio fuit, quam ipsa exercitus magnitudo. Multus in eo prælio Cæ-

*ing a clapping of Hands in his own Theatre, making a Noise all around, resembling smiting of Breasts in Sorrow, and seen in Black (O abominable!) at the Principia of the Camp. Cæsar's Army was never brisker, nor more chearful. On that Side the Sig- nal for Battle was first sounded, on that the Weapons were first discharged; the Lance too of Cra- stinus, as he begun the Fight, was observed; who soon after, having a Sword run into his Mouth, was found so amongst the dead Bodies; and shewed the Eagerness and Keeness with which he fought, by the singularity of the Wound. But the Issue of that Battle was not less wonderful. For tho' Pompey so abounded in Plenty of Horse, that he seemed to himself capable of inclining Cæsar with Ease, yet he himself was sur- rounded. For after they had fought with equal Advantage a long time, and the Horse, by Pompey's Order pouring out, sal- lied from one Wing, on a sudden on the other Side, upon a Signal given, some Battalions of Ger- mans made so furious an Attack upon the Horse in their Sally, that they seemed to be Foot-men, and those to come on Horseback. The Destruction of the light- armed Foot attended their Slaugh- ter of the flying Horse: Then the Consternation spreading wi- der, the Troops confounding one another, the rest of the Slaugh- ter was made as it were with one Hand. Nor was any thing more  
far*

far fuit mediufque inter imperatorem & militem. Voces quoque obequitantis exceptæ, altera cruenta, fed docta, & ad victoriam efficax, Miles faciem feri: altera ad jactationem compofita; Parce civibus, quum ipfe fequeretur. Felicem utcunque in malis Pompejum, fi eadem ipfum, quæ exercitum ejus, fortuna traxiffet! Superftes dignitati fuæ vixit, ut cum majore dedecore per Theffalica Tempe equo fugerat ut una navicula Lesbos applicaretur: pulfus Hedris in deferto Ciliciæ scopulo, fugam in Parthos, Africam, vel Ægyptum agitare: ut denique in Pelufio littore, imperio viliffimi regis, confiliis fpadonum, & ne quid malis defit, Septimii defertoris fui gladio trucidatus, fub oculis uxoris fuæ liberorumque moreretur. Quis non peractum effe cum Pompeio, crederet bellum? atqui acrius multo atque vehementius Theffalici incendiū cineres recalueret. Et in Ægypto quidem adverfus Cæfarem fine partibus bellum. Quippe quum Ptolemæus rex Alexandriæ fumum civilis belli fcelus peregiffet, fœdusque ami-

ruinous, than the Greatnefs of the Army itfelf. Cæfar was very bufy in that Battle, and acted a Part betwixt a Commander and a Soldier. Some Words too of his, as he rid about, were taken Notice of; one a bloody one, but cunning and conducing to the Victory, Soldiers, ftrike at the Face; another contrived for Shew only. Spare your Countrymen, whilft he himfelf was upon the Purfuit. Pompey had been happy, however in his Misfortunes, if the fame Fate had befallen him, that befel his Army: He furvived his Honour, that he might fly with the greater Difgrace thro' the Theffalian Tempe on Horfeback, and get off to Lesbos in one little Veffel; and being forced from Hedra upon a defert Rock of Cilicia, might think of Flying amongst the Parthians, to Africa and Egypt; that finally being flain upon the Shore of Pelufium, by the Order of a very forry Prince, by the Advice of Eunuchs, and that nothing might be wanting to compleat his Misfortunes by the Sword of one Septimius that had deferted from him, in Sight of his Wife and Children. Who would not have thought the War had been at an End with Pompey? But the Afhes of the Fire of Theffaly grew hot again much more violently and vehemently than they had been before: And in Egypt indeed there was a War carried on againft Cæfar without Party. For after Ptolomy, King of Alexandria, had executed the greateft

citiæ

citæ cum Cæsare, medio Pompeii capite sanxisset; ultionem tanti viri manibus quærente fortuna, causa non defuit. Cleopatra regis soror affusa Cæsaris genibus, partem regni reposcebat. Aderat puellæ forma & quæ duplicaretur ex illo, quod talis passa videbatur injuriam; odium ipsius regis, qui Pompeii cædem, partium fato, non Cæsari dederat; hæud dubie idem in ipsum ausurus, si expedisset: quam ubi Cæsar restitui jussit in regnum, statim ab eisdem percussoribus Pompeii obsessus in regia, quamvis exigua manu, ingentis exercitus molem mira virtute sustinuit. Ac primum ædificiorum proximorum, atque navaliū incendio, infestorum hostium tela submovit: mox in peninsulam Pharon subitus evasit: inde depulsus in maria, mira felicitate ad proximam classē enatavit, relicto quidem in fluctibus paludamento, seu fato, seu consilio, ut illud ingruentibus hostium telis saxisque peteretur. Tandem receptus a classicis suis, undique simul hostes adortus, debellata perfida gente, iusta generi manibus de-

*Villainy in all the Civil War, and had concluded a Treaty of Friendship with Cæsar, by the Mediation of Pompey's Head; Fortune seeking Revenge for the Ghost of so great a Man, an Occasion was not wanting. Cleopatra, the King's Sister, falling at the Knees of Cæsar, demanded a Part of the Kingdom. The Girl had Beauty which was doubled from thence, that so fine a Creature seemed to suffer under a very great Injury; to this was super-added a Hatred of the King himself, who had granted the Murder of Pompey to the Fate of the Party opposite to him, and not to Cæsar, being ready no doubt to attempt the same against Cæsar himself, if it had been expedient. Whom when Cæsar ordered to be restored to the Kingdom, he was immediately besieged by those same Assassins of Pompey in the Palace, and with wonderful Bravery opposed the Power of a mighty Army, tho' with but a small Body of Troops. And in the first Place he repulsed the Arms of the Enemy that pressed hard upon him, by the Fire of the neighbouring Houses and Ship-Docks, and then suddenly got off to the Island Pharos. Being driven from thence into the Sea, with wonderful good Fortune he swam away to his Fleet hard by, leaving behind him his Military Cloak in the Waves, either by the Appointment of Fate or Design, that it might be attacked for himself, by the Weapons and*

dit. Quippe & Theodotus magister, auctorque totius belli, & ne virilia quidem portenta Pothinus atque Ganymedes, diversa per mare & terras fuga & morte consumpti. Regis ipsius corpus obrutum limo repertum est in aureæ loriceæ honore. In Asia quoque novus rerum motus a Ponto: plane quasi de industria captante fortuna hunc Mithridatico regno exitum, ut a Pompeio pater, a Cæsare filius vinceretur. Rex Pharnaces magis discordiæ nostræ fiducia, quam virtutis suæ, infesto in Cappadociam agmine ruebat: sed hunc Cæsar aggressus, uno, &, ut sic dixerim, non toto prælio, obrivit; more fulminis, quod uno eodemque momento venit, percussit, abscessit. Nec vana de se prædicatio est Cæsaris; ante victum hostem esse, quam visum.

*one and the same Moment comes, strikes, and is gone. Nor was Cæsar's Boast of himself groundless, That the Enemy was conquered before he was seen.*

Sic cum exteris. At in Africa cum civibus multo atrocius, quam in Pharsalia. Huc reliquias partium naufragarum quidem furoris æ-

*Stones of the Enemy pouring in, after him. At last being taken up by those on board his Fleet, attacking the Enemies at once on all Hands, he procured an Attonement from that unwarlike and perfidious Nation, for the Ghost of his Son in-law. For Theodotus the King's Tutor, and Author of the War, and Pothinus and Ganymedes, Monsters more than Men, were all destroyed by a Fight different way by Sea and Land, and at last by Death. The Body of the King himself was found buried in the Slime of the River, in the honourable Attire of a Golden Coat of Mail. In Asia too a new Disturbance from Pontus followed: Fortune visibly, as it were on purpose, catching an Opportunity thus to put an End to the Kingdom of Mithridates, that the Father might be conquered by Pompey, and the Son by Cæsar. King Pharnaces, more in Confidence of our Differences, than in his own good Conduct, poured into Cappadocia, with an Army ready for Action. But Cæsar attacking him, crushed him in one, and, as I may say. not a compleat Battle, like Thunder, which in*

*Thus Matters were managed with Foreigners. But in Africa there were much more bloody Doings with Fellow-Citizens, than there had been in Pharsalia. The Flood of Civil Fury had driven thus*



stus expulerat; nec reliquias dices, sed integrum bellum. Parslæ magis, quam oppræssæ vires erant. Auxerat sacramentum ipsa clades imperatoris: nec degenerabat ducum successio: quippe satis ample sonabant in Pompeiani nominis locum Cato & Scipio. Accessit copiis Mauritania rex Juba, videlicet ut latius vinceret Cæsar. Nihil ergo inter Pharsaliam, & Thapson, nisi quod amplior, eoque acrior Cæsarianorum impetus fuit, indignantium post Pompeium crevisse bellum. Denique, quod alias nunquam, ante imperium ducis, sua sponte signa cecinerunt. Strages a Juba cæpit: ejus elephantum bellorum rudes, & nuper a sylva, consternati subito clangore; statim & exercitus in fugam: nec duces fortius quam ut fugerant, non inconspicua tamen morte omnium. Jam Scipio nave fugiebat: sed assequutis eum hostibus, gladium per viscera exegit: & ubi esset quodam requirente, respondit hoc ipsum; *Bene se habet imperator.* Juba quum sese recepisset in regiam magnifice epulatus, postero die cum Petreio

*hither the Relicks of the shipwreck'd Party. Nor would you call them Relicks, but Matter of a new War. The Strength of the Party had rather been dispersed than mastered. The Murther of the General had strengthened the Obligation of their Military Oath, and there was a Succession of Generals not inferior to the Former. For Cato and Scipio sounded grand enough in the room of Pompey's Name. Juba, King of Mauritania, was superadded to the Forces of the Party, as it seems that Cæsar might carry his Conquests the farther. There was therefore no Difference between Pharsalia and Thapsos, but that the Mettle of Cæsar's Party was the greater and more violent, as being angry that the War had grown upon their Hands after Pompey. Finally the Signal for Battle was sounded by the Direction of the Soldiery, which had never been done at other Times before the General's Word of Command. The Slaughter begun with Juba. His Elephants being unacquainted with War, and lately taken from the Wood, were affrighted with the sudden Sounding of the Trumpets, and immediately the Army was put to Flight. Nor did the Generals behave more bravely than to fly, tho' the Death of them all was not inglorious. Scipio was now flying in a Ship; but the Enemy coming up with him, he run his Sword thro' his Bowels; and some body asking where he was, he answered in this very Ex-*  
fugæ

fugæ comite, super men-  
 fas & pocula interficien-  
 dum se ei præbuit. Ille  
 & regi suffecit, & sibi:  
 quum interim semesi in  
 medio cibi, & parentalia  
 fercula regio simul Ro-  
 manoque sanguine ma-  
 debant. Cato non inter-  
 fuit bello: positisque  
 apud Bagradam castris,  
 Uticam, velut altera  
 Africæ claustrâ, servabat.  
 Sed accepta partium clâ-  
 de, nihil cunctatus, ut  
 sapiente dignum erat,  
 mortem etiâ lætus ac-  
 civit. Nam postquam  
 filium comitesque ab  
 amplexu dimisit, in noc-  
 te lecto ad lucernam Pla-  
 tonis libro, qui immor-  
 talitatem animæ docet,  
 paululum quievit. Tum  
 circa primam vigilia  
 stricto gladio revelatum  
 manu pectus semel ite-  
 rumque percussit. Ausi  
 post hoc virum medici  
 violare fomentis: ille  
 passus dum abscederent,  
 rescidit plagas; sequuta-  
 que vis sanguinis mori-  
 bündus manus in ipso  
 vulnere reliquit. Quasi  
 non esset usquam dimi-  
 catum, sic arma rursus  
 & partes: quantoque  
 Africa super Thessaliam,  
 tanto Africam superabât  
 Hispania. Plurimum  
 quantum dabat favoris parti-  
 bus dabat fraternitas

pression, the General is well.  
*Juba withdrawing to his Palace,*  
*feasted there most sumptuously, the*  
*Day after; with Petreius the Com-*  
*panion of his Fight; and at Ta-*  
*ble, and in the midst of their*  
*Cups, offered himself to him to be*  
*slain. He served both the King and*  
*himself; whilst in the mean Time*  
*the Victuals upon the Table half-*  
*eaten, and the Funeral Messes*  
*were wet with Royal and Roman*  
*Blood together. Cato was not in*  
*the Fight, and whilst the Camp*  
*was pitch'd at Bagrada, kept U-*  
*tica, as it were the other Inlet in-*  
*to Africa. But receiving the News*  
*of the overthrow of the Party,*  
*making no delay at all, as became*  
*a wise Man, he even joyfully em-*  
*braced his Death. For after he had*  
*dismissed his Son and other Atten-*  
*dants from his Embraces, reading*  
*over in the Night by a Lamp Pla-*  
*to's Book, which treats of the Im-*  
*mortality of the Soul, he after that*  
*slept a little. Then about the first*  
*Watch drawing his Sword, he*  
*struck his Breast, which he had*  
*made bare with his Hand, once*  
*and again the Surgeons after this*  
*had the Confidence to mal-treat*  
*the Man by their Applications to*  
*his Wounds: He suffered it 'till*  
*they were gone, and then tore open*  
*the Wounds, and a great Quantity*  
*of Blood issuing upon it, left his*  
*dying Hands in the Wound. But*  
*as if there had been no fighting*  
*and where, Arms and the Party*  
*appeared again: And as much as*  
*Africa was beyond Thessaly, so*  
*much did Spain exceed Africa.*  
 ducum,

ducum, & pro uno duos stare Pompeios. Itaque nusquam atrocius, nec tam ancipiti Marte concursus est.

*The Fraternity of the Leaders procured a great deal of Favour to the Party, and especially the Consideration, that two Pompey's now stood up for one. Accordingly, no where was there more bloody engaging, or in Battle so dubious a long Time.*

Primum in ipso ostio oceanæ Varus Didiusque legati confligere: sed acrius fuit cum ipso mari, quam inter se navibus bellum. Si quidem velut furorem civium castigaret oceanus, utramque classem naufragio cecidit. Quinam ille horror, quum eodem tempore fluctus, procellæ, viri, naves, armamenta confligerent? adde situs ipsius formidinem: vergentia in unum, hinc Hispaniæ, inde Mauritanæ littora; mare & intestinum, & externum; imminentesque Herculis speculas: quum omnia undique simul prælio & tempestate sævirent. Mox circa obfisiones urbium utrinque discursus est: quæ miseræ inter hos atque illos duces societatis Romanæ pœnas dabant. Omnium postrema certaminum Munda. Hic non pro cætera felicitate, sed anceps, & diu triste prælium: ut plane vide-

*In the first Place, the Lieutenants Varus and Didius engaged in the very Mouth of the Ocean: But the Ships had a sharper Contest with the Sea itself, than amongst themselves. For as if the Ocean intended to chastise the Fury of these Fellow Citizens, it ruined both Fleets by a Wreck. What a dismal Scene was it; when, at the same Time, Waves, Storms, Men, Ships and Rigging engaged? Add the Dreadfulness of the Situations, the Shores, on one Side, of Spain, on the other, of Africa, bow'd together; the Sea both inward and outward, and the high Rocks of Hercules hanging over the Sea, whilst all Things on all Hands were in great Confusion with the Battle and Storm together. Soon after they ran, on both Sides, up and down to the Siege of Cities, which miserably suffered Punishment for the Roman Alliance betwixt the Generals on one side and the other. At Munda was the last of all the Battles. Here Matters went not agreeable to his other good Fortune; but the Battle was doubtful and dismal a long Time; that Fortune seem'd plainly to deliberate upon I know not what.*

retur

retur nescio quid delibere fortuna. Sane & ipse ante aciem mœstior non ex more Cæsar sive respectu fragilitatis humanæ; sive nimiam prosperorum suspectam habens continuationem: vel eadem timens, postquam idem esse cœperat quod Pompeius. Sed in ipso prælio, quod nemo unquam meminerat, quum diu pari Marte acies nihil aliud quam occiderent, in medio ardore pugnantium subito ingens inter utrosque silentium, quasi convenisset. Hic omnium sensus erat. Novissime illud inusitatum Cæsaris oculis nefas, post quatuordecim annos probata veteranorum manus gradum retro dedit. Quod etsi nondum fugerat, apparebat tamen pudore magis, quam virtute resistere. Itaque ablegato equo, simulis furenti, primam in aciem procurrit. Ibi pensare fugientes, confirmare, per totum denique agmen oculis, manibus, clamore volitare. Dicitur in illa perturbatione & de extremis agitasse secum, & ita manifesto vultu fuisse, quasi occupare manu mortem vellet, nisi cohortes hostium quinque

*And indeed Cæsar himself was before the Fight somewhat sad, not according to his Custom, whether from a Consideration of human Frailty, or suspecting the extraordinary Continuance of his Prosperity, or fearing the same Things, after he begun to be the same that Pompey had been. But in a Battle, a Thing happened, which nobody had ever remembered before; after the Armies for a long Time had done nothing else but slaughter one another, in equal Fight in the midst of all the Heat of the fighters, there was suddenly a profound Silence betwixt both Parties, as if it had been agreed upon. At last happened that Abomination, unknown to the Eyes of Cæsar, his approved Body of Veterans, after fourteen Year's Service, now gave Ground. And tho' they did not fly, yet it appeared that they resisted more out of Shame, than Courage. Wherefore sending away his Horse, He runs like a Madman into the Front: There he seized upon such as fled, encouraged them, and run through the whole Army, with his Eyes and Hands busy and great shouting. He is said to have thought with himself, in that Disturbance, of the utmost Extremity, and to have appeared with a Countenance manifestly such, as if he had a Mind to kill himself with his own Hand, which had its likely, happened, but that five Battalions of the Enemy that were carried through the Army,*

per transversam aciem actæ, quas Labienus periclitantibus castris subsidio miserat, fugæ speciem præbuisse. Hoc aut ipse credidit, aut dux callidus arripuit in occasionem: & quasi in fugientem invecus, simul & suorum erexit animos, & hostes perculit. Nam hi dum se putant vincere, fortius sequi; Pompeiani dum fugere credunt suos, fugere cæperunt. Quanta fuerit hostium cædes, ira, rabiesque victoribus, sic æstimari potest. Hoc a prælio profugi, quum se Mundam recepissent, & Cæsar obsideri, statim victos imperasset, ex congestis cadaveribus agger effectus est; quæ pilis jaculisque confixa inter se tenebantur. Fædum etiã inter barbaros! Sed videlicet victoriam desperantibus Pompeii liberis, Cnæum prælio profugum, crure saucio deserta & avia petentem, Cesonius apud Lauro-nem oppidum consequutus, pugnantum (adeo nondum desperabat) interfecit. Sextum fortuna in Celtiberiam interim abscondit; aliisque post Cæsarem bellis reservavit. Cæsar in patriam victor invehitur

which Labienus had sent to the Relief of the Camp in Danger, made an Appearance of Flight. This he either believed, or the crafty General took hold of it, as a fine Occasion; and inveighing against the Enemy as flying, he at once both raised the Courage of his own Men, and disheartened the Enemy. For those, whilst they think themselves victorious, press on more bravely; and the Pompeians, whilst they believe their Friends to be flying, begun to fly. How great the Slaughter of the Enemies was, and the Rage and Fury of the Conquerors, may be hence estimated. Those that fled from this Battle having withdrawn themselves to Munda, and Cæsar ordering the vanquished Enemy to be immediately besieged, a Mole was made of dead Bodies thrown together, which being stuck through with Lances and Javelins, were kept together. An abominable Thing even amongst Barbarians! But Pompey's Sons despairing of the Victory, Cesonius overtaking Cnæus flying from the Battle, with a Leg wounded, and making his Way for desert and lonely Places, at the Town of Lauron, killed him fighting, (so far yet was he from despairing quite). Fortune in the mean time hid Sextus in Celtiberia, and reserved him for other Wars after Cæsar. Cæsar rides victorious into his native City. The Rhine and the Rhone, and the Captive Ocean of Gold, brought up the first Triumph

Primum de Gallia triumphum transmiserat Rhenus, & Rhodanus & ex auro captivus oceanus. Altera laurus Ægyptia: tunc in ferulis Nilus, Arsinoe, & ad simulacrum ignium ardens Pharus. Tertius de Pharnace currus, & Ponto. Quartus Jubam & Mauros, & bis subactam ostendebat Hispaniam. Pharsalia, & Thapsos, & Munda nufquam; & quanto majora erant, de quibus non triumphabat! Hic aliquando finis armis fuit. Reliqua pax inveniuntur: pensatumque clementia bellum. Nemo casus imperio præter Afranium (satis ignoverat semel) & Faustum Syllam. Didicerat, generos timere: filiamque Pompeii cum patruelibus ex Sylla: hic posteris cavebatur. Itaque non ingratis civibus, omnes unum in principem congesti honores: circa templa imagines; in theatro distincta radiis corona; suggestus in curia; fastigium in domo; mensis in cælo. Ad hoc pater ipse patriæ, perpetuusque dictator: novissime, dubium an ipso volente, oblata pro Rostris ab Antonio consule regni insig-

over Gaul. Another Triumph was over Egypt. Then were upon the Ferula, the Nile, Arsinoe, and Pharus burning like Fire. The third triumphal Chariot was for Pharnaces and Pontus. The fourth shewed Juba and the Moors, and Spain twice conquered. Pharsalia, Thapsus, and Munda were no where to be seen. And how much greater were those Things; for which he did not triumph! Here at last was an End of War. The Peace following was without any Bloodshed; and the War made amends for by Clemency. No body was slain by his Order, besides Afranium, (he had pardoned him once, which was enough) and Faustus Sylla. He had learnt to be afraid of Sons-in-law; and the Daughter of Pompey with her Cousins by Sylla: Here Care was taken of Posterity. Wherefore his Countrymen being not ungrateful, all Honours were conferred upon this great Man: As Images in the Temple, a Crown diversified with Rays in the Theatre, a Throne in the Senate-house, a Cupola upon his own House, a Month in Heaven. Besides, he was called Father of his Country, and made Dictator for life. At last, it's doubtful whether he was consenting, the Ensigns of Royal Dignity were offered him in the Rostra, by the Consul Anthony: All which Things were heaped upon him like Ribbands upon a Victim destined to Death. For Envy prevailed over the Prince's  
nia

nia. Quæ omnia velut insulæ in destinatam morti victimam congebantur. Quippe clementiam principis vitio invidia: gravisque erat liberis ipsa beneficiorum potentia. Nec diutius dilatio donata est: sed Brutus & Cassius, alique patricii consenserunt in cædem principis. Quanta vis fati! manaverat late conjuratio: libellus etiam Cæsari datus eodem die; nec perlitare centum victimis potuerat. Venit in curiam tamen, expeditionem Parthicam meditantis. Ibi in curuli sedentem eum senatus invasit: tribusque & viginti vulneribus ad terram datus est. Sic ille, qui terrarum orbem civili sanguine impleverat, tandem ipse sanguine suo curiam implevit.

*Clemency, and the very Power of conferred Benefits was intolerable to a free People. Nor was Delay long granted him; but Brutus and Cassius, and others of the Nobility, conspired together for the killing of this great Man. How great is the Power of Fate! The Conspiracy had spread very far. A Paper was given Cæsar upon the very Day of his Death, discovering the Plot; nor could he find the Omens favourable so much as once in a hundred Victims offered one after another. However, he came into the Senate-house, designing an Expedition against the Parthians. There the Senate fell upon him as he sat upon his Ivory Seat, and he was struck to the Ground with three and twenty Wounds. Thus he, that had filled the World with the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens, at last filled the Senate-house with his own Blood.*

### CAP. III. Cæsar Augustus.

**P**Opulus Romanus, Cæsare & Pompeio trucidatis, rediisse in statum pristinae libertatis videbatur: & redierat, nisi aut Pompeius liberos, aut Cæsar hæredem reliquisset: vel, quod utroque perniciosius fuit; si non collega quondam, mox æmulus Cæsarianæ po-

**T**HE People, of Rome after Cæsar and Pompey were slain, seemed to have returned to the State of their former Freedom; and it had so returned, had not either Pompey left Children, or Cæsar an Heir, or, what was more pernicious than both, if Anthony who had formerly been the Colleague of Cæsar, and was afterwards fond of his Power, the

tentia,

M 2

tentiæ, fax & turbo sequentis sæculi; superfuisset Antonius. Quippe dum Sextus paterna repetit; trepidatum toto mari: dum Octavius mortem patris ulciscitur, iterum fuit movenda Thessalia; dum Antonius variis ingenio, aut successorem Cæsaris indignatur Octavium, aut amore Cleopatæ desciscit in regem; aliter salvus esse non potuit, nisi confugisset ad servitutem. Gratulandum tamen in tanta perturbatione est, quod potissimum ad Octavium Cæsarem Augustum summa rerum rediit: qui sapientia sua atque solertia, perculsum undiq; & perturbatum ordinavit imperii corpus: quod ita haud dubie nunquam coire & consentire potuisset, nisi unius præsidis nutu, quasi anima & mente regeretur. Marco Antonio, Publio Dolabella consulis imperium Romanum jam ad Cæsares transferente fortuna, variis & multiplex civitatis motus fuit: quodque in annua cœli conversione fieri solet, ut mota sidera tonent, ac suos flexus tempestate significant; sic cum Romanæ dominationis, id est humani generis conversio, æ, pe-

*Incendiary and Disturber of the following Age, had not survived. For whilst Sextus demands again what belonged to his Father, there was a great Consternation all over the Sea. Whilst Octavius revenges the Death of his Father, Thessaly was again to be disturbed; whilst Anthony, very inconstant in his Humour, either thinks much that Octavius should be the Successor of Cæsar, or through the Love of Cleopatra, degenerates into a King, the Roman People could no other ways be secure, unless they fled for Refuge to a State of Slavery. However, we have Reason to rejoice, that, in so great a Distraction the Management of Affairs came into the Hands of Octavius Augustus Cæsar; who by his Wisdom and Dexterity put in Order the Body of the Empire shattered on all Hands, and sadly distracted, which without doubt could never have united again and held together, unless it had been governed by the Direction of one President, as it were one Soul and Mind. When Mark Anthony and Publius Dolabella were Consuls, Fortune now transferring the Roman Empire to the Cæsars, various and manifold were the Convulsions of the State. And what uses to happen in the annual Revolution of the Heavens, that the Constellations in their Motion occasion Thunder, and signify their Risings and Settings by tempestuous Weather; just so with the Revolution of the Roman Go-*  
nitus



nitus intremuit, omnique genere discriminum, civilibus, terrestribus, ac navalibus bellis, omne imperii corpus agitatam est.

*vernment, that is of Mankind, the whole Body of the Empire received a mighty Concussion, and was disturbed with all Manner of Dangers and Civil Wars, both by Land and Sea.*

C A P. IV. *Bellum Mutinense.*

**P**rima civilium motuum causa testamentum Cæsaris fuit, cujus secundus hæres Antonius prælatum sibi Octavium furens, inexpiabile contra adoptionem acerrimi juvenis susceperat bellum. Quippe quum intra decem & octo annos tenerum, obnoxium, & opportunum injuriæ juvenem videret, ipse, plenæ ex commilitio Cæsaris dignitatis, lacerare furti hæreditatem, ipsum insectari probris, cunctis artibus cooptationem Juliæ gentis inhibere non desineret; denique ad opprimendum juvenem, palam arma moliri; & jam parato exercitu in Cisalpina Gallia resistentem motibus suis Decimum Brutum obsidebat: Octavius Cæsar, ætate & injuria favorabilis, & nominis majestate, quod sibi induerat, revocatis ad arma veteranis, privatus (quis crederet?) consulem aggreditur.

**C**ÆSAR's Will was the first Occasion of Civil Commotions, whose second Heir, Anthony, enraged that Octavius had been preferred before him, undertook with implacable Fury a War in Opposition to the Adoption of this most active Youth. For seeing him but a tender Youth under eighteen Years of Age, obnoxious and liable, as he thought, to any ill Usage, he being a Person of consummate Dignity, by reason of his having served so long under Cæsar, and not ceasing to dismember his Inheritance by clandestine Acts of Injustice, to pursue him with opprobrious Language, and by all his Arts to baffle his Adoption into the Julian Family, he at last openly took up Arms to ruin the young Gentleman; and having now raised an Army, besieged Decimus Brutus who opposed his Motions in Cisalpine Gaul. Octavius Cæsar, who was recommended to the Favour of the Publick by his Age and the Injustice offered him, and the Grandeur of the Name which he had taken upon him, having engaged the Veterans again to take up Arms, tho' but a private Person (who

Obsidio Mutinæ liberat Brutum : Antonium exiit castris. Tum quidem etiam manu pulcher apparuit : nam cruentus & faucius aquilam, a moriente signifero traditam, suis humeris in castra referebatur.

would helieve it ?) falls upon the Consul, delivers Brutus from his Siege at Modena, and beats Anthony out of his Camp. Then too he appeared glorious in Action; for tho' he was bloody and wounded, he brought off the Eagle delivered him by the dying Standard-bearer, upon his shoulders, into the Camp.

C A P. V. *Bellum Perusinum.*

**A**Lterum bellum concitavit agrorum divisio, quos Cæsar veteranis in castris, pretium militiæ persolvebat. Semper alias Antonii pessimum ingenium Fulvia gladio cincta virilis militiæ, uxor agitabat. Ergo depulsos agris colonos incitando, iterum in arma ierat. Hic vero jam non privatis, sed totis senatus suffragiis iudicatum hostem Cæsar aggressus, intra Perusiæ muros redigit, compulitque ad extrema deditiois, turpi & nihil non experta fame.

**T**HE Division of Lands which Cæsar assigned the Veterans in his Camp, as the Reward of their Service, occasioned another War. Fulvia, Anthony's Wife, girt with a Sword which belongs only to men in War, wrought strongly upon the Disposition of Anthony, otherwise but very indifferent. Wherefore he again engaged in Arms, by raising the Boors that had been turned out of their Lands. And now Cæsar attacks him declared an Enemy, not only in the private Sentiments of the People, but by the Votes of the whole Senate, and reduced him within the Walls of Perugia, and obliged him to the Extremity of a Surrender, by a wretched Famine, in which every thing was tried for Subsistence.

CAP. VI. *Triumviratus.*

QUUM solus etiam gravis paci, gravis reipublicæ esset Antonius, quasi ignis incendio Lepidus accessit. Quid contra duos exercitus; Neceffe fuit venire in cruentissimi fœderis societatem. Diversa omnium vota. Lepidum divitiarum cupido, quarum spes ex turbatione reipublicæ: Antonium ultionis de his, qui se hostem judicassent: Cæsarem inultus pater, & manibus ejus graves Cassius & Brutus agitabant. In hos velut fœdus pax inter tres duces componitur. Apud Confluentes inter Pelusiam & Bononiam jungunt manus, & exercitus consalutant. Nullo bono more Triumviratus invaditur; oppressaque armis reipublica, redit Syllana proscripio: cujus atrocitas nihil in se minus habet quam numerum centum quadraginta senatorum. Exitus fœdi, truces, miserabiles, toto terrarum orbe fugientium, pro quibus quis pro dignitate rei ingemiscat! quum Antonius Lucium Cæsarem avunculum suum, Lepidus Lucium

*What* Hilst Anthony alone was dangerous to the pullick Quiet, dangerous to the Governement, Lepidus was superadded to him, as it were Fire to a Burning. What could Cæsar do now against two Armies? There was a Necessity for him to come to an Agreement upon a most bloody Treaty. The Wishes of them all were different, The Desire of Riches fired Lepidus, of which he had great Hopes from a Disturbance of the Commonwealth. The Desire of Revenge from those that had declared him an Enemy, pushed on Anthony. His Father as yet unrevenged, and Brutus and Cassius highly offended to his Ghost, drove Cæsar on. In order to a Treaty for those Purposes, a Peace is made up amongst the three Commanders. At Confluentes, betwixt Perugia and Bononia, they join Hands, and the Armies salute one another. By no good Custom, the Triumvirate is seized by them, and the Commonwealth being mastered by Force of Arms, the Proscription, introduced first by Sylla, is revived. The Cruelty of which has no less in it, than a Number of an hundred and forty Senators. The Deaths of Persons flying all the World over were shameful, cruel, and miserable; for which who can grieve answerable to the Occasion, when

Paulum suum fratrem proscriserit? Romæ capita cæforum proponere in rostris jam usitatum erat: verum sic quoque civitas lachrymas tenere non potuit, quum recisum Ciceronis caput in illis suis rostris videretur, nec aliter an videndum eum, quam solebat ad audiendum, concurreretur. Hæc scelera iu Antonii Lepidique tabulis. Cæsar percussoribus patris contentus fuit. Hæc quoque nisi multa fuisset, etiam iusta cædus haberetur.

*Anthony proscribed Lucius Cæsar his Uncle; Lepidus, Lucius Paulus his Brother? It was now customary to set up the Heads of such as were slain at Rome, in the Rostra. But for all that, the City could not refrain Tears, when the Head of Cicero being cut off, was seen in those Rostra of his; nor did the People run any otherwise to see him, than they used before to hear him. These Villainies were in the Tables of Anthony and Lepidus, Cæsar was content with the Assassins of his Father. And this Execution might have appeared reasonable, but that there was so much of it.*

## C A P. VII.

*Bellum Cassii & Bruti.*

**B**Rutus & Cassius sic Cæsarem, quasi Tarquinium regem, depulisse regno videbantur: sed libertatem, quam maxime restitutam voluerunt, illo ipso parricidio perdidere. Igitur cæd perfecta, quum veteranos Cæsaris, nec immerito, timerent, statim e curia in capitolium confugerunt. Nec illis ad ultionem deerat animus; sed ducem non habebant. Igitur quum appareret, quæ strages reipublicæ immineret, displicuit ultio cum coæsulis aboliti one decreta. Ne tamen

*B*Rutus and Cassius seemed to have thrown Cæsar, as it were King Tarquin, from the Sovereignty; but they lost by that Parricide, the Liberty which they so much desired to have restored. Wherefore after they had performed their Execution upon him, being afraid; and not without Reason, of Cæsar's Veterans, they immediately fled from the Senate-house to the Capitol. Nor did they want a good Inclination for Revenge; but they had no General. Wherefore when it appeared what Desolation threatened the Commonwealth, the Revenge of his Death was not judged proper. However, that they might not bear the Eyes of publick Grief, publici

publici doloris oculos ferrent, in provincias ab illo ipso, quem occiderant, Cæsare datas, Syriam & Macedoniam, concesserunt. Sic vindicta Cæsaris dilata potius quam oppressa est. Igitur ordinata magis ut poterat, quam ut debebat, per Triumviros respublica, relicto ad urbis præsidium Lepido, Cæsar cum Antonio in Cassium Brutumque succingitur. Illi comparatis ingentibus copiis, eandem illam, quæ fatalis Cnæo Pompeio fuit, arenam insederant. Sed nec tum imminetia cladis destinatæ signa latuere. Nam & asluetæ cadaverum pabulo volucres, castra quasi jam sua circumvolabant: & in aciem prodeuntibus obuius Æthiops nimis aperte ferale signum fuit. Ipsique Bruto per noctem, quum illato lumine ex more aliqua secum agitare, atra quædam imago se obtulit: & quæ esset interrogata; Tuus, inquit, malus genius. Hoc dixit, & sub oculis mirantis evanuit. Pari in meliora præsentia in Cæsaris castris omnia, aves, victimæque promiserant: sed nihil illo præsentius, quod Cæsaris medicus somnio admonitus est, ut

they withdrew into the Provinces given them by that very Cæsar whom they had slain, Syria and Macedonia. Thus the Revenge of Cæsar's Death was rather put off, than effectually prevented. Wherefore the Commonwealth being regulated rather as it could, than as it ought, by the Triumvirs, Lepidus being left for the Security of the Town, Cæsar, with Anthony, prepares to march against Cassius and Brutus. They having raised vast Forces, possessed themselves of the same Place of Action, which was fatal to Cnæus Pompey. But then too appeared Signs of the Destruction that was approaching them. For Birds, used to feed upon Carcasses, already flew about the Camp as their own; and a Black meeting them as they were going out to Battle, was too plainly a most dismal Sign. And a black Phantom presented itself to Brutus in the Night-Time, whilst he was according to Custom, musing upon something or other, with a Light by him; and being ask'd what it was, it replied, Your evil Genius. This it said, and vanished immediately before the Eyes of him astonished at the Matter. With the like Presage for better, the Birds and Victims promised all manner of Prosperity in Cæsar's Camp. But nothing was more plain than this, that Cæsar's Physician was warned in a Dream, That Cæsar should quit the Camp, which was going to be taken; as it happened. For a Battle being join'd, after they had fought for some  
Cæsar

*Cæsar castris excederet, quibus capi imminebat: ut factum est. Acie namque commissa, quum pari ardore aliquandiu dimicatum foret: quamvis duces non essent præsentés, quorum alterum corporis ægritudo, illum metus & ignavia subduxissent; staret tamen pro partibus invicta fortuna & ultoris, & qui vindicabatur: primum adeo anceps fuit, & par utriq; discrimen, ut exitus prælii docuit. Capta sunt hinc Cæsar's castra, inde Cassii. Sed quanto efficacior est fortuna, quam virtus! & quam verum est, quod moriens efflavit, non in re, sed in verbo tantum; esse virtutem! Victoriã illi prælio error dedit. Cassius inclinato cornu suorum, quum captis Cæsar's castris rapido impetu recipientes se equites videret, fugere arbitratus, evadit in tumultum. Inde pulvere & strepitu, etiam nocte vicina, eximentibus gestæ rei sensum, quum speculator quoq; in id missus, tardius renunciaret; transactum de partibus ratus, uni de proximis auferendum præbuit caput. Brutus, quum in Cassio etiam suum animum perdidisset, ne quid ex constituti fide resignaret (ita enim par superesse bello conven-*

*time with equal Heat, altho' the Commanders were not present, one of which the sickly Condition of his Body had obliged to be absent, and the other his own Fears and Cowardice; yet the invincible Fortune both of the Avenger, and of him that was avenged, stood up for the Party: At first the Dispute was as equal and doubtful on both Sides, as the Event of the Battle shewed. On one Side, Cæsar's Camp was taken; on the other, Cassius's: But how much more powerful is Fortune than good Conduct! And how true is that, which he, when dying, uttered, That Virtue consisted not in any real Substance, but in a Word only! A Mistake gave the Victory in that Battle. Cassius, when his Wing begun to fly, seeing the Horse retreating with violent Haste upon the taking of Cæsar's Camp, supposing they were flying too, gets up to a Hill. And then the Dust and Noise, and approaching Night too, preventing all Perception of what was done, and a Scout too, sent out for the Purpose, being long in bringing in his Intelligence; supposing the Party was absolutely ruined, he offered his Head to one of those that were about him to take off. Brutus having lost his very Soul in Cassius, that he might not infringe in the least the Faith of the Agreement (for it had been agreed both to survive the War, or neither) he likewise offered his Side to one of his Attendants to stab. Who would not wonder that these most*

rat)

rat) ipse quoq; uni comitum suorum confodendum præbuit latus. Quis sapientissimos viros non miretur ad ultimum non suis manibus usos : nisi si hoc quoque ex persuasione desuit, ne violarent manus, sed in abolitione sanctissimarum piissimarumq; animarum, judicio suo, scelere alieno, uterentur.

*wise Men did not at last make use of their own Hands, unless it was, that they might not profane their Hands, but use their own Judgment, and the Wickedness of others, in the dispatching of those most upright and pious Souls.*

C A P. VIII. *Bellum cum Sexto Pompeio.*

**S**ublatis percussoribus Cæsaris, supererat Pompeii domus. Alter juvenum in Hispania occiderat, alter fuga evaserat: contractisque infelicis belli reliquiis, quum insuper ergastula armasset, Siciliam, Sardiniamque habebat. Jam & classe medium mare infederat, O quam diversus a patre! Ille Cilicias extinxerat: hic secum pirates navales agitabat. Tanta mole belli penitus in Siculo freto juvenis oppressus est: magnique famam ducis ad inferos secum tulisset, si nihil tentasset ulterius: nisi quod magnæ indolis signum est, sperare semper. Perditis enim rebus profugit, Asiamque velis petit, venturus ibi in manus

**T**HE Assassins of Cæsar being taken off, the House of Pompey was left. One of the young Men, his Sons, had been kill'd in Spain; the other had got off by Flight; and drawing together the Remains of this unhappy War, having too armed the Slaves, he kept Possession of Sicily and Sardinia. And now he had possessed himself of the Middle of the Sea with a Fleet. O how different was he from his Father! He had suppressed the Cilicians: This carried Pirates along with him. The Youth was entirely overthrown in the Fare of Sicily, in a prodigious Battle; and would have carried with him to the Shades the Character of a great Commander, if he had attempted nothing farther; but that it is a Sign of a great Genius to hope always. For after the Ruin of his Affairs by that Defeat, he fled and sailed for Asia,

hostium

hostium & catenas, & quod miserimum est fortibus viris, ad hostium arbitrium sub percussore moriturus. Non alia post Xerxem miserabilior fuga. Quippe modo trecentarum quinquaginta navium dominus, cum sex septemve fugiebat, extincto prætoris navis lumine, annulis in mare abjectis, pavens atque respectans, & tamen non timens ne periret.

*being there to come into the Hands of his Enemies, and Chains, and, what is most miserable of all to brave Men to die under the Hands of an Executioner, at the Pleasure of his Enemies. There never was any Flight more pitiful since Xerxes. For he that was lately Master of three hundred and fifty Ships, fled with six or seven, putting out the Light of his own Ship, and throwing his Rings into the Sea, affrighted, and looking behind him, and yet not afraid of perishing.*

CAP. IX. *Bellum Particum, duce Ventidio.*

Quamvis in Cassio & Bruto partes sustulisset, in Pompeio totum partium nomen aboleisset, nondum tamen ad pacis stabilitatem profecerat Cæsar, quum scopulus, & nodus, & mora publicæ securitatis superesset Antonius. Nec ille defuit vitiis, quin periret; immo omnia expertus ambitu & luxuria, primum hostes, deinde cives, tandem etiam terrore sui sæculum liberavit. Parthi clade Crassiana altius animos exerant; civilesque populi Romani discordias læti acceperant: itaque ut prima adfulsit occasio, non dubitaverunt erum-

**T**H O' Cæsar had demolished the Party in Cassius and Brutus, and in Pompey quite abolished the very Name of the Party, yet he had not done enough for the Security of the Publick Peace, whilst that Rock, Knot, and Impediment of the publick Quiet, Anthony, was left. Nor was he wanting to his own Destruction by his Vices; nay, trying all Things for the Purpose by his Ambition and Luxury, he first delivered the Enemies of Rome, and then his Countrymen, and at last the Age, from the Dread of him. The Parthians, upon the Overthrow of Crassus, had raised their Spirits very high, and with Joy received the News of the Civil Broils of the Roman People. Wherefore, as soon as the first Occasion appeared, they made no  
perce



pere, ultro quidem invitante Labieno; qui missus a Cassio Brutoque (quis furor scelerum!) sollicitaverat hostes in auxilium; & illi Pacoro duce, regio juvene, dissipant Antoniana præsidia. Saxa legatus, ne veniret in potestatem, a gladio suo impetravit. Denique ablata Syria, emanabat latius malum, hostibus sub auxilii specie sibi vincen- tibus: nisi Ventidius, & hic legatus Antonii, incredibili felicitate & Labieni copias, ipsumque Pacorum & omnem Parthicum, equitatum, toto inter Orontem & Euphratem sinu late cecidisset. Viginti amplius millium fuit; nec sine consilio ducis: qui simulato metu adeo passus est hostem castris succedere, donec absumto jactus spatio, adimeret usum sagittarum. Rex fortissime dimicans cecidit. Mox circumlato ejus per urbes quæ desciverant, capite, Syria sine bello recepta. Sic Crassianam cladem Pacori cæde pensavimus.

doubt to sally out, Labienus indeed very forwardly inviting them to it; who being sent by Cassius and Brutus, (how great is the Madness of Wickedness!) had solli- cited the Enemy to their Assistance; and they, with Pacorus for their Leader, a Youth of the Royal Family, break up all the Garrisons of Anthony. Saxa, a Lieutenant of his, procured from his own Sword the Happiness, not to fall into their Hands. Finally, having carried Syria, the Mischief had spread more widely, the Enemy conquering for themselves, under the Shew of assisting others; but that Ventidius, who too was a Lieutenant of Anthony, with incredible good Fortune, every where overthrew the Troops of Labienus, and Pacorus himself, and all the Parthian Horse, all along the Tract between Orontes and Euphrates: It was above twenty Miles long. Nor was this effected without the good Conduct of the General; who, pretending Fear, suffered the Enemy to come close up to the Camp, 'till there being no Room left for the Discharge of their Weapons, he took away the Use of their Arrows. The King fell fighting valiantly. Soon after his Head being carried about thro' the Cities which had revolted, Syria was recovered without any further War. Thus we made a Return for the cutting off Cras- sus, by the killing of Pacorus.

CAP. X. *Bellum Parthicum cum Antonio.*

**E**Xpertis invicem Parthis atque Romanis, quum Crassus atq; Pacorus utrinq; virsum mutualium documenta fecissent: pari rursus reverentia integrata amicitia: & quidem ab ipso foedus Antonio cum rege percussum. Sed immensa vanitas hominis! dum titulorum cupidine Araxem & Euphratem sub imaginibus suis legi concupiscit; neque causa, nec consilio, ac ne imaginaria quidem belli indictione, quasi hoc quoque ex arte ducis esset, obrepere; relicta repente Syria in Parthos impetum facit. Gens præter armorum fiduciam callida, simulat trepidationem, & in campos fugam: hic statim quasi victor sequebatur: quum subito nec magna hostium manus, ex improviso, & jam in fessos via, sub vespere, velut nimbus erupit; & missis undique sagittis duas legiones operuerunt. Nihil acciderat in comparisonem cladis, quæ in posterum diem imminabat, nisi intervenisset deum miseratio. Unus ex clade Crassiana Par-

**T**HE Parthians and the Romans having tried one another, whilst Crassus and Pacorus had on each Side given Proofs of their mutual Strength, their former Friendship was renewed with equal Reverence for one another, and a Treaty concluded by Anthony himself with the King. But, O the immense Vanity of the Man! whilst out of a Fondness for Titles, he desires to have Araxes and Euphrates read under his Statues, without any Occasion, and without any Prudence, and without the least proclaiming of War, as if this too belonged to the Art of a General to creep upon his Enemy, quitting Syria on a sudden, he makes an Inroad upon the Parthians. That Nation, besides the reasonable Confidence they have in their Arms, being subtle too, pretends a mighty Consternation, and to fly into the Plains. He immediately pursued them as conquered; when all on a sudden no great Army of the Enemy, unawares broke out, like a Shower of Rain, in the Evening upon them weary with their March; and discharging their Arrows on all Sides, covered two Legions with them. Nothing had yet befallen the Romans, in comparison of the Destruction that threatened them the next Day, had not the pity of the Gods interposed. One of those that were  
thico

thico habitu castris ad-  
 quitat, & salute Latine  
 data, quum fidem ipso  
 fecisset, quid immineret  
 edocuit; jam affuturum  
 cum omnibus copiis. re-  
 gem: irent retro, pete-  
 rentque montes: sic quo-  
 que hostem fortasse non  
 defore. Atque ita se-  
 quuta est minor vis ho-  
 stium quam imminebat.  
 Adfuit tamen; deletæ-  
 que reliquæ copię fo-  
 rent, nisi urgentibus telis  
 in modum grandinis, qua-  
 dam forte, quasi docti,  
 procubuissent in genua  
 milities, & elatis super ca-  
 pita scutis, cæorum spe-  
 ciem præbuissent. Tum  
 Parthus arcus inhibuit.  
 Deinde Romani quum se-  
 rursus extulissent, adeo  
 res miraculo fuit, ut unus  
 ex barbaris miseret vo-  
 cem; ite, & bene valete,  
 Romani; merito vos vic-  
 tores fama gentium loqui-  
 tur, qui Parthorum tela  
 fugistis. Non minor ex  
 aqua postea, quam ab  
 hostibus clades. Insecta  
 primum fiti regio. Tum  
 quibusdam Salinacidis  
 fluvius infestior; novissi-  
 me quia jam invalidis  
 & avide hauriebantur,  
 noxiæ etiam dulces fuere.  
 Mox & ardores per Ar-  
 meniam; & nives per  
 Cappadociam; & utri-  
 usque cæli subita muta-  
 tio pro pestilentio fuit.

*saved upon the. Overtthrow of  
 Crassus, rides up to the Camp in  
 a Parthian Dress, and giving a  
 Salute in Latin, and having  
 gained Credit by that, he told  
 them what hung over their Heads,  
 That the King would presently  
 be there with all his Forces: He  
 advised them to go back, and get  
 to the Mountains: That not-  
 withstanding they did so, the E-  
 nemy perhaps would not be far  
 behind. And so a less Number of  
 Enemies followed them, than  
 otherwise was ready to fall upon  
 them. Yet they came up with  
 them, and the rest of the Army  
 would have been cut off, but that  
 whilst the Weapons poured in up-  
 on them in the Manner of Hail,  
 the Soldiers by some good Fortune,  
 as if they had been taught, fell  
 down upon their knees, and hold-  
 ing up their Shields above their  
 Heads, made an Appearance of  
 Men that were slain: Upon that  
 the Parthians forbore their Bows.  
 And then the Romans raising  
 themselves again, the Matter was  
 so much a Wonder with them,  
 that one of the Barbarians utter-  
 ed these Words; Go your ways,  
 and fare well, Romans; Fame  
 deservedly celebrates you for the  
 Conquerors of the Nations, who  
 have escaped the Weapons of  
 the Parthians: There was no  
 less Mischief from the Water,  
 than the Enemy. In the first  
 Place, the Country was, by its  
 Dryness, pernicious to them. And  
 then to some the River Salinacides  
 was more pernicious. At last too  
 sweet Water was prejudicial, be-  
 Sic*

Sic vix tertia parte de sedecim legionibus reliqua; quum argentum eius passim dolabris concideretur; & subinde inter moras mortem a gladiatore suo efflagitasset egregius imperator; tandem perfugit in Syriam. Ibi incredibili quadam mentis vecordia ferocior aliquanto factus est; quasi vicisset quia evaserat.

*cause it was drunk by them now sick, and too greedily. Soon after too the Heats in Armenia, and the Snows in Cappadocia; and the sudden Change of the Weather in both Places were as bad as a Plague. Thus scarce a third Part of sixteen Legions being left, whilst his Silver was every where cut in Pieces with Hatchets, and he now and then, during a Stop of the Army, desired Death from a Gladiator of his, this excellent Commander got at last into Syria.*

*There he was rendered somewhat more haughty, by an incredible Madness of Mind, as if he had been victorious, because he had escaped.*

#### C A P. XI. Bellum cum Antonio & Cleopatra.

**F**Uror Antonii quatenus per ambitum non interiret, luxu & libidine extinctus est. Quippe post Parthos, quum exosus arma in otio ageret, captus amore Cleopatræ, quasi bene gestis rebus, in regio se sinu reficiebat. Hæc mulier Ægyptia, ab ebrio imperatore pretium libidinum Romanum imperium petit. Et promisit Antonius: quasi facilius esset Partho Romano. Igitur dominationem parare, nec tacite: sed patriæ, nominis, togæ, fascium oblitus, totus in monstrum illud ut men-

**T**HE Madness of Anthony, since it could not be allayed by his Ambition, had at last an End put to it by his Luxury and Lust. For after his Expedition against the Parthians, hating Arms, and living in Idleness, charmed with the Love of Cleopatra, as if his Affairs had been well managed, he refreshed himself in the Queen's Bosom. This Ægyptian Woman desires from the drunken General the Roman Empire, as the Price of her lustful Dalliance with him. And Anthony promised her; as if the Romans were more easy to deal with than the Parthians. Wherefore he was now preparing to seize the Government of the whole Empire pretty openly. But

te,

te, ita animo quoque, & cultu desciverat. Aureum in manu baculum; ad latus acinaces: purpurea vestis ingentibus obstricta gemmis: diadema aderat, ut regina rex ipse frueretur. Ad primam novorum motuum famam Cæsar a Brundisio trajecerat, ut venienti bello occurreret: positisque in Epiro castris, Leucadem insulam, montemque Leuten, & Ambracii sinus cornua, infesta classe, succinxerat. Nobis quadringentæ amplius naves: ducentæ non minus hostium: sed numerum inagnitudo pensabat. Quippe a fenis in novenos remorum ordinibus, ad hoc turribus atque tabularis allevatæ, castellorum & urbium specie, non sine gemitu maris, & labore ventorum ferebantur: quæ quidem ipsa moles exitio fuit. Cæsar's naves a triremibus in fenos non amplius ordines creverant. Itaque habiles in omnia quæ usus poscebat, ad impetus & recursus flexusque capiendos, illas graves, & ad omnia præpeditas, singulas plures adortæ, missilibus simul, tum rostris, ad hoc ignibus jactis, ad arbitrium

forgetting his Country, Name, Dress, and Fasces, he was with all his Heart and Soul wholly given up to that Monster. He had a golden Scepter in his Hand, and a Scimitar by his Side; a Scarlet Robe clasped with huge Jewels. He had too a Diadem, that he might enjoy the Queen as a King. Upon the first Advice of this new Disturbance, Cæsar had passed over from Brundisium to meet the approaching War: and pitching his Camp in Epire, he had lined the Island of Leucas, and Mount Leute, and the Horns of the Ambracian Bay with his Fleet. We had above four hundred Ships; the Enemies were two hundred, no less; but their Size made Amends for the Smallness of their Number. For they rose from six Banks of Oars to nine; besides, being raised with Towers and high Decks, they moved along in the Form of Castles and Cities, not without a groaning of the Sea, and to the great Fatigue of the Winds; which Bulkiness was indeed their Ruin. Cæsar's Ships rose from Triremes to six Banks, and no further. Wherefore they were ready for all Things that Need required for Assault, to take Wheels or Turns; and several of them attacking those heavy ones singly, and unqualified by their Unwieldiness for every thing, they scattered them at their Pleasure, with their missive Weapons, together with their Rostra, and besides with Fire thrown into

diffipavere. Nec ulla re magis hostilium copiarum apparuit magnitudo, quam post victoriam. Quippe immensa classis, naufragio belli facto, toto mari ferebat Arabumque, & Sabæorum & mille aliarum gentium Asiæ spolia. Purpuram aurumque in ripam assidue mota ventis maria revomebant. Prima dux fugæ regina, cum aurea puppe, veloque purpureo, se in altum dedit. Mox sequutus Antonius: sed instare vestigiis Cæsar. Itaque nec præparata in oceanum fuga, nec munita præsidiis utraque Ægypti cornua, Parætonium atque Pelusium, profuere. Prope manu tenebantur. Prior ferum occupavit Antonius. Regina ad pedes Cæsaris provoluta tentavit oculos ducis frustra. Nam pulchritudo infra pudicitiam principis fuit. Nec illa de vita quæ offerébatur, sed de parte regni laborabat. Quod ubi desperavit a principe, servarique se triumpho vidit, incautiorem nacta custodiam, in mausoleum se (sepulchra regum sic vocant) recipit. Ibi maximum, ut solebat, induta cultus, in differto odoribus folio, juxta suum se

*them. Nor did the Greatness of the Enemies Force appear in any thing more than after the Victory. For that vast Fleet being sadly shattered by the Flight, carried all the Sea over the Spoils of the Arabians and Sabæans, and a thousand other Nations of Asia. And the Seas, when raised by the Winds were continually throwing up scarlet Cloaths and Gold upon the Shore. The Queen was the first Leader in the Flight, and launched out into the Main Sea, with a gilt Ship, and a scarlet Sail. Soon after Anthony followed; but Cæsar followed close at their Heels. Wherefore neither their Preparations for Flight into the Ocean, nor those Horns of Ægypt, Parætonium and Pelusium, tho' secured both of them by Garrisons, signified any thing. They were soon seized. First Anthony went to work with his Sword. The Queen falling at the Feet of Cæsar, tried the General's Eyes in vain; for her Beauty was below that Prince's Chastity. Nor was she concerned for her Life, which was offered her, but for a Part of her Kingdom. Which when she despaired of obtaining from the Prince, and saw that she was reserved for his Triumph, having but a careless Guard upon her, she withdraws herself into a Mausoleum, (so they call the Sepulchres of Kings). There putting on her best Apparel, as she used to be dressed, she placed herself by her dear Anthony, in a Coffin filled*

collo-

collocavit Antonium: ad-  
motisque ad venas serpen-  
tibus, sic morte quasi som-  
no soluta.

*with Perfumes; and applying  
Serpents to her Veins, she went  
off by a Death like unto Sleep.*

C A P. XII. *Bellum adversus gentes exteras.*

**H**IC finis armorum  
civilium. Reliqua  
adversus exteras gentes:  
quæ, districto circa mala  
sua imperio, diversis or-  
bis oris emicabant. No-  
va quippe pax: nec dum  
assuetæ frénis, servitutis  
tumidæ gentium inflatæ-  
que cervices, ab imposito  
nuper jugo resiliebant.  
Ad Septentrionem con-  
versa ferme plaga ferocius  
agebat; Norici, Illy-  
rii, Pannonii, Dalmatæ,  
Myssi, Thraces, & Daci,  
Sarmatæ atque Germani.  
Noricis animus dabant  
Alpes atque nives, quo  
bellum non posset ascen-  
dere: sed omnes illius  
cardinis populos, Bren-  
nos, Senones atque Vin-  
delicos, per privignum  
suum Claudium Drusum  
perpacavit. Quæ fuerit  
callidarum gentium feri-  
tas, facile vel mulieres  
ostendere: quæ deficienti-  
bus telis, infantes ipsos  
afflictos humo in ora mi-  
litum adversa miserunt.  
Illyrii quoque sub Alpi-  
bus agunt, imasque valles

**T**HIS was the final Period  
of Civil Wars. What Things  
remain were carried on against  
foreign Nations, which, whilst  
the Empire was employ'd in its  
own unfortunate Troubles, start-  
ed up in different Parts of the  
World. For Peace was new; and  
the swoln and bloated Necks of  
the Nations not yet used to the  
Bridle of Slavery, started back  
from the Yoke lately put upon  
them. The Quarter of the World  
lying towards the North behaved  
very obstinately; the Noricans,  
Illyrians, Pannonians, Dalma-  
tians, Mysians, Thracians, and  
Dacians, Sarmatians and Ger-  
mans. The Alps and their Snows  
to which War, as it was thought,  
could not ascend, gave Courage to  
the Noricans. But he thoroughly  
quelled all the Nations of that  
Quarter, the Brenni, Senones,  
and Vindelicians, by his Step-Son  
Claudius Drusus. How great  
the Barbarity of those Nations  
was, the very Women easily made  
appear; who, when Weapons  
failed them, threw their Infants  
dashed against the Ground full in  
the Faces of the Soldiers. The  
Illyrians likewise live under the  
Alps, and guard the Vallies there-

earum, ac quædam quasi claustra, custodiunt, abruptis torrentibus impliciti. In hos expeditionem ipse sumpsit: fierique pontes imperavit. Hic se & aquis & hoste turbantibus, cunctanti ad ascensum militi scutum de manu repuit: & in via primus. Tunc agmine sequuto, quum Illyricus multitudinem pontem succidisset, sauciis manibus ac cruribus, speciosior sanguine, & ipso periculo augustior, terga hostium percecudit. Pannonii duobus saltibus, ac tribus fluviis, Dravo, Savo, Histroque vallabantur: Populati proximos, intra ripas se recipiebant. In hos domandos Vibium misit: cæsi sunt in utriusque fluminibus: Arma victorum non ex more belli cremata; sed capta sunt, & in profluentes data: ut cæteris, qui resistebant, victoria sic nunciaretur. Dalmatæ plerumque sub sylvas agunt: inde in latrocinia promptissimi. Hos jam quidem Marcius incensa urbe Delminio quasi detrunceverat: postea Asinius Pollio gregibus, armis, agris multaverat, (hic secundus orator): sed Augustus perdomandos Vibio mandat: qui efferum genus fodere terras coe-

of, that are, as it were, a Sort of Barrier thereto, secured on all Sides by Torrents. He himself undertook an Expedition against them, and ordered Bridges to be made. Here the Waters and the Enemy putting the Army into some Confusion, he took a Shield out of the Hand of a Soldier boggling at the Ascent of the Hill, and was the foremost in the March: Then the Army following, the Illyrians breaking the Bridge by their Numbers, being wounded in his Hands and Legs, and appearing the more glorious in his Blood, and the more august by his Danger, he did great Execution upon the enemies Rear. The Pannonians were defended by two Forests, and three Rivers, the Drave, the Save, and the Ister. Having laid waste the Country of their neighbours, they withdrew themselves within their Banks. He sent Vibius to conquer them: They were slaughtered upon two Rivers: The Arms of the conquered were not burnt, according to the Usage of War, but taken and thrown into the Rivers, that the News of the Victory might be so conveyed to the rest that stood out. The Dalmatians for the most part live in Woods, and are ready from thence to sally out for Robberies. Marcius had already in a manner beheaded them, by firing their City Delminium. Afterwards Asinius Pollio had deprived them of their Flocks, Arms, and Lands, (he was the second Orator in Rome)

git,



git aurumque venis repurgare: quod alioquin gens omnium cupidissima, studiosa diligentia acquirit; ut illud in usus suos servare videatur. Mysi quam feri, quam truces fuerint, quam ipsorum etiam barbari barbarorum horribile dictu est. Unus ducum, ante aciem postulato silentio, *Qui vos, inquit, estis?* Responsum invicem: *Romani gentium domini* Et illi, *Ita, inquirunt, si nos viceritis.* Accepit omen Marcus Crassus. Illi statim ante aciem immolato equo concepere votum, *ut casorum exitis ducum & litarent, & vescerentur.* Deos audisse crediderim: nec tubam sustinere potuerunt. Non minimum terroris incussit barbaris Domitius centurio, satis barbaræ, efficacis tamen apud pares homines stoliditatis, qui foculum gerens super cassidem, suscitatum motu corporis flammam, velut ardenti capite fundebat. Ante hos, Thracum maxime populus desciverat Ille barbarus & signis militaribus, & disciplina, armis etiam Romanis assueverat: sed a Pisone perdomiti, in ipsa captivitate rabiem ostendere: quippe quum catenas moribus tentarent, fe-

but Augustus left them to Vibius to reduce intirely, who forced this wild Nation to dig the Earth, and to clear away the Gold in the Veins of it, which this Nation, otherwise the most covetous of all, seeks out with Care, that it might seem to save it for its own Use. It's dreadful to say how wild and savage the Mysians were, and how much the most barbarous of Barbarians. One of the Generals demanding Silence before the Battle, cried out, Who are you? Answer was made again; The Romans, the Lords of all Nations: And they said in Return, So it will be, if you conquer us. M. Crassus took the Omen. They sacrificing immediately a Horse before the Battle, made a Vow to offer in Sacrifice, and eat, the Bowels of the Generals slain on the Side of the Enemy. I believe the Gods heard them. They could not endure so much as the sound of the Trumpet. Domitius, a Centurion, a Man of Folly barbarous enough, but yet effectual against Men like himself, struck no small Terror amongst the Barbarians; who carrying a little Chafing-Dish of hot Coals upon his Helmet, poured forth a Flame raised by the Motion of his Body from his Head, that seemed as it were on Fire. Before them the People of the Thracians had revolted. Those Barbarians had been used both to the Military Standards and Discipline, and Arms too of the Romans. But being thoroughly subdued by Pison, they shewed their Fury in their

ritatem suam ipsi puniebant. Daci montibus inhaerent; Cotisonis regis imperio, quoties concretus gelu Danubius junxerat ripas, ducurrere solebant, & vicina populari. Visum est Cæsari Augusto gentem aditu difficilissimam submovere. Misso igitur Lentulo, ultra ulteriorem repulit ripam: citra præsidia constituit. Sic tunc Dacia non victa, sed summotâ, atque dilata est. Sarmatæ patentibus campis inequant: & hos per eundem Lentulum prohibere Danubio satis fuit. Nihil præter nives, rarasque sylvas habent. Tanta barbaries est, ut pacem non intelligant. Germaniam quoque utinam vincere tanti non putasset: magis turpiter amissa est, quam gloriose acquisita: sed quatenus sciebat patrem suum Cæsarem, bis trajecto ponte Rheno, quæsisse bellum: in illius honorem concupit facere provinciam, & factum erat, si barbari tam vita nostra, quam imperia ferre potuissent.

*very Captivity: For attacking their Chains with biting, they punished their own Savageness. The Dacians keep in the Mountains. By the Order of King Cotiso, as oft as the Danube, being congealed with Frost, had joined its Banks, they were used to run down, and waste the neighbouring Country. It seemed good to Augustus Cæsar, to drive further off this Nation, that was very hard to come at. Wherefore sending Lentulus thither, he drove them beyond the further Bank, and placed Guards on this Side. So Dacia was not conquered at that Time, but only repulsed and deferred to some other Opportunity. The Sarmatians ride about in large Plains; and it was thought sufficient to keep these from the Danube by the same Lentulus. They have nothing but Snows and Woods here and there. And so great is their Barbarity, that they understand not what Peace is. I wish too he had not thought it so much worth his while to conquer Germany! It was more shamefully lost, than it was gloriously acquired. But because he knew his Father Cæsar had sought a War there by twice passing the Rhine by a Bridge, he resolved, in Honour of him, to make it a Province; and it had been done effectually, if the Barbarians could as well have borne our Vices as our Government.*

Missus in eam provinciam Drusus, primus domuit Usipites: inde

*Drusus being sent into that Province, first conquered the Usipites; after that he over-run the Tenctheros*

Tenetheros percurrit, & Cattos. Nam Marcomanorum spoliis insignibus quendam editum tumulum in trophæi modum excoluit. Inde validissimas nationes, Cherufcos, Suevosque & Sicambros pariter aggressus est: qui virginti centurionibus incrematis, hoc velut sacramento sumpserant bellum, adeo certa victoriæ spe, ut prædam in antecessum pactione diviserint. Cherufci equos; Suevi aurum & argentum; Sicambri captivos elegerant; sed omnia retrorsum. Victor namque Drusus equos, pecora, torques eorum, ipsosque præda divisit, & vendidit. Præterea in tutelam provinciarum, præsidia atque custodias ubique disposuit per Mosam flumen, per Albim, per Visurgim. Nam per Rheni quidem ripam quinquaginta amplius castella direxit. Bonnam & Gesoriacum cum pontibus junxit, classibusque firmavit. Invisum atque inaccessum in id tempus Hercynium saltum patefecit. Ea denique in Germania pax erat, immutati homines, alla terra, cœlum ipsum mitius molliusque solito videretur. Deni-

*Tenetheri, and the Catti. For he dressed up a certain high Hill of the Marcomani with fine Spoils, in manner of a Trophy. After that he set upon those very strong Nations, the Cherusci, the Suevi, and the Sicambri, all at once; Who burning twenty Centurions, had begun the War with this, as it were a Military Oath, with such confident Hopes of Victory, that they divided the Plunder by Bargain beforehand. The Cherusci had chosen the Horses, the Suevi the Gold and the Silver, and the Sicambri the Prisoners; but all Things were quite the Reverse. For Drusus proving victorious, distributed and sold together their Horses, Cattle, Gold Chains, and themselves too by way of Plunder. Moreover, he every where placed Garrisons and Guards along the River Maese, the Elb, and the Virsurgis, for the Defence of the Provinces. For he placed above fifty Castles along the Bank of the Rhine: He built Bridges at Bonne and Gesoriacum, and secured them by Fleets. He opened the Hercynian Forest, that had never been seen or approached before that Time. Finally, there was such a Peace in Germany, that the Men seemed changed, the Country quite different, and the very Air to be milder and softer than usual. Finally, that most gallant young Man, dying there, the Senate gave him a Surname from the Province, which had never been done before, not in Flattery, but for his Merit.*

que

que non per adulationem, sed ex meritis, defuncto ibi fortissimo juvene, ipsi, quod nunquam alias, senatus cognomen ex provincia dedit. Sed difficilium est provincias obtinere, quam facere: viribus parantur, jure retinentur. Igitur breve id gaudium. Quippe Germani victi magis, quam domiti erant: moresque nostros magis quam arma sub imperatore Druso suspiciebant. Postquam vero ille defunctus, Vari Quintilii libidinem ac superbiam, haud secus quam sævitiam odisse cæperunt. Ausus ille agere conventum, & in castris jus dicebat; quasi violentiam barbarorum & licitoris virgis, & præconis voce posset inhibere. At illi, qui jam pridem rubigine oblitos enses inertesque mœrerent equos, ut primum togas, & sæviora armis jura viderunt, duce Arminio arma corripunt: quum interim tanta erat Varo pacis fiducia, ut ne prædicta quidem, & prodita par Segestem, unum principum, conjuratione commoveretur. Itaque improvidum, & nihil tale metuentem, improvise adorti, quum ille (O se-

*But it is more difficult to keep Provinces than to make them. They are obtained by Force, but retained by Justice. Wherefore this Joy was but short. For the Germans were defeated in Battle, rather than thoroughly subdued. And they admired our Manners more than our Arms, under the Commander Drusus. But after he was dead, they began to hate the Lust and Pride of Quintilius Varus, as well as his Cruelty. He ventured to hold an Assize; and administered Justice in his Camp, as if he could stop the Violence of the Barbarians by the Serjeant's Rods, and the Voice of the Cryer. But they, who before complained that their Swords were covered with Rust, and their Horses idle, as soon as they saw the Togæ, and Laws crueller than Arms, take up Arms under Arminius for their Leader: Whilst in the mean Time Varus had so great an Assurance of Peace, that he was not moved at the Warning given him, and the Discovery made of the Conspiracy by Segestes, one of their Chiefs. Wherefore coming by Surprise upon him, unaware of them, and apprehending no such thing, whilst he (O strange Security!) was summoning them before his Bench, they fall on him on all Hands, they carry the Camp and three Legions are cut off. Varus followed the Ruin of his Affairs with the same Fate and Spirits as Paulus did the Day of Cannæ. Nothing was ever more bloody,*  
curitas)

curitas) ad tribunal citaret; undique invadunt, castra rapiunt, tres legiones opprimuntur. Varus perditas res eodem, quo Cannensem diem Paulus, & fato est & animo sequutus. Nihil illa cæde per paludes, perque sylvas cruentius: nihil insultatione barbarorum intolerantius, præcipue tamen in causarum patronos. Aliis oculos, aliis manus amputabant: unius os sutum, recisum prius lingua, quam in manu tenens barbarus, tandem, inquit, vipera, sibilare desiste. Ipsius quoque consulis corpus, quod militum pietas humi abdiderat, effossum. Signa & aquilas duas adhuc barbari possident: tertiam signifer prius quam in manus hostium veniret, evulsit; mensamque intra baltei sui latebras gerens, in cruenta palude sic latuit. Hac clade factum, ut imperium, quod in littore oceanani non steterat, in ripa Rheni fluminis staret. Hæc ad Septentrionem. Sub Meridiano tumultuatum magis, quam bellatum est. Musulanium atque Gætulos accolam Syrtium, Cossus duce compefcuit: unde illi Gætulici nomen. Latius victoria patet. Marmaridas atque Gara-

than that *Havock* made of the Romans through the *Morasses*, and through the *Woods*: Nothing more intolerable than the insulting of the *Barbarians*, especially over the *Pleaders of Causes*. Of some they cut their *Eyes* out, others their *Hands* off. The *Mouth* of one was *stitched* up, his *Tongue* being first cut out, which a *Barbarian* holding in his *Hand*, said, At last, *Viper*, give over hissing. The *Body* too of the *Consul* himself, which the *Goodness* of the *Soldiery* towards him had buried in the *Ground*, was dug up. The *Barbarians* to this *Day* keep *Possession* of the *Standards* and two *Eagles*. A third, the *Standard-bearer*, before he came into the *Enemies' Hands*, pulled off, and carrying it within the *Cover* of his *Belt*, lay hid in that *Manner* in the *bloody Morass*. By this *Overthrow* it came to pass, that the *Empire*, which had not been confined by the *Shore* of the *Ocean*, stood upon the *Bank* of the *River Rhine*. These *Things* were done in the *North*. In the *South* there was some *Disturbance*, as it may be called, rather than a *War*. He quelled the *Musulaniums* and *Gætulians*, that live by the *Syrtis*, by the *Commander Cossus*; from whence he had the *Name* of *Gætulicus*. But his *Success* in those *Parts* extended further. He assigned the *Marmaridas* and *Garamentes* to *Carinius* to subdue. He might likewise have returned with the *Name* of *Marmaricus*, but he

mantas

mantas Cariniō subigen- *was more modest in valuing his*  
 dos dedit. Potuit & ille *Victory.*  
 redire: Mamaricus, sed  
 modestior in æstimanda  
 victoriā fuit.

Ad Orientem plus *There was more Trouble in*  
 negotiū cum Armeniis: *the East, with the Armenians:*  
 huc alterum ex Cæsa- *Hither he sent one of the Cæsars*  
 ribus nepotibus suis *his Grandsons: They were both*  
 misit. Ambō fato bre- *short-lived, but one of them in-*  
 ves: sed alter inglo- *glorious. For Lucius died of a*  
 rious. Massiliæ quippe *Distemper at Marseilles; Caius*  
 Lucius morbo solvitur: *in Syria of a Wound, whilst he*  
 in Syria Caius ex vul- *was recovering Armenia, that*  
 nere, quum Armeniam *had withdrawn itself to the Par-*  
 ad Parthos se subtrahen- *thians. Pompey had used the Ar-*  
 tem recipit. Armenios, *menians, after the Conquest of*  
 victo rege Tigra- *their King Tigranes, to this one*  
 ne, in hoc unum servitutis ge- *Sort of Servitude, to receive*  
 nus Pompeius assueve- *Princes from us. Wherefore the*  
 rat, ut rectores a nobis *Right that had been dropt, was*  
 acciperent. Intermis- *again recovered by him in a Bat-*  
 sum ergo jus per hunc recu- *tle, not without Bloodshed, and a*  
 peratum, non incruento, *sufficient Revenge. For Dom-*  
 nec inulto tamen certa- *nes, whom the King had made*  
 mine. Quippe Domnes, *Governor of Artaxata, pretend-*  
 quem rex Artaxatis præ- *ing to betray the Place, attack'd*  
 fecerat, simulata proditi- *the Man intent upon a Scroll,*  
 one, adortus virum inten- *which he had given him, as con-*  
 tum libello, quem, *taining the Accounts of the Treas-*  
 ut thesaurorum rationes *ure. He was pretty well reco-*  
 continentem, ipse por- *vered of his Wound for a Time:*  
 rexerat. Strictus ac re- *But the Barbarian, being over-*  
 creatus ex vulnere in *powered by the Army pressing up-*  
 tempus. Cæterum bar- *on him on all Hands, made Satis-*  
 barus undique infesto *faction to Cæsar whilst yet a-*  
 exercitu oppressus, gla- *live, with the Sword, and a Pile,*  
 dio, & pyra, in quam *upon which when wounded he*  
 se percussus immisit, su- *threw himself. In the West, al-*  
 persuti etiamnum Cæ- *most all Spain was conquered, but*  
 sari satisfecit. Sub occa- *what the hither Ocean washes,*  
 su pacata fere omnis His- *lying close upon the Rock of the*  
 pania, nisi quam Pyre- *Pyrenæan, where it ends. Here*  
 næi

næi desinentis scopulis inhærentem citerior alluebat oceanus. Hic duæ validissimæ gentes, Cantabri & Astures, immunes imperii agitabant. Cantabrorum & pejor, & altior, & magis pertinax in rebellando animus fuit; qui non contenti libertatem suam defendere, proximis etiam imperitare tentabant, Vaccæosque, & Curgionios, & Autrigonas crebris incurfionibus fatigabant. In hoc igitur, quia vehementius agere nunciabantur, non mandata expeditio, sed sumpta est. Ipse venit Segisamam; castra posuit: inde partito exercitu totam in diem amplexus Cantabriam, efferam gentem, ritu ferarum, quasi indagine debellabat. Nec ab oceano quies, quum infesta classe ipsa quoque terga hostium cæderentur. Primum adversus Cantabros sub mœnibus Belgicæ præliatus est. Hinc fuga in eminentissimum Vinnium montem, quem maria prius oceani, quam arma Romana ascensura esse crediderant. Tertio Aracillum oppidum magna vi repugnat. Captum tamen postremo fuit. Medulli montis obsidio (quem perpetua quindecim

*lived two strong Nations, the Cantabrians and Astures, free from the Roman Dominion. The Disposition of the Cantabrians was the worse, and more lofty, and more pertinacious in rebelling; who being not content to defend their Liberty only, attempted to domineer over their Neighbours, and harrassed the Vaccæi, and Curgionii, and Autrigonæ, with various Inroads upon them. The Expedition against these was not committed to another, but undertaken by himself; because they were said to carry it very violently. He came to Segisina, and there pitched his Camp. After that, dividing his Army, he surrounded all Cantabria, and reduced that savage Nation in the Way they do wild Beasts, as it were with an Enclosure of Nets. Nor had they any Quiet from the Ocean, the Rear of the Enemy too being gaulad with a Fleet that attacked them. He first fought against the Cantabrians under the Walls of Vellica. Upon this, they took their Flight into the very high Mountain Vinnius, which they imagined the Waters of the Ocean would sooner ascend than the Roman Arms. In the third Place, the Town of Aracillum resists with great Mettle; yet at last it was taken. In the Siege of the Mountain Medullis (which he inclosed within a continued Ditch of fifteen Miles, the Romans now advancing on all Hands together) after the Barbarians saw Matters brought to Extremity,*

cim millium fossa comprehensum cinxit, undique simul adente Romano) postquam extrema barbari vident; certatim igne, ferro inter epulas, venenoque, quod ibi vulgo ex arboribus Taxeis exprimitur, præcepere mortem: seque pars major a captivitate, quæ videbatur, vindicare. Hæc per Antistium, Furnium, Agrippam legatos, hybernans in Taraconis maritimis Cæsar accepit. Ipse præseis hos deduxit montibus; hos obfidibus astrinxit: hos sub corona jure belli venumdedit. Digna res lauro, digna curru senatus visa est: sed jam Cæsar tantus erat, ut posset triumphos contemnere.

Astures per idem tempus ingenti agmine a montibus suis descendebant. Nec temere sumptus, ut barbaris, impetus: sed positis castris apud Asturam flumen, trifariam diviso agmine, tria simul Romanorum castra aggredi parabant. Fuisset & anceps, & cruentum, & utinam mutua clade certamen, tunc tam fortibus, tam subito, tam cum consilio venientibus; nisi Trigæcini prodidissent: a quibus præmo-

they very eagerly hastened their own Deaths by Fire, Sword, and Poison, in the midst of Feasting, which Poison is commonly there squeezed out of the Trees called Taxei; and the greatest Part delivered themselves from the Captivity which was before their Eyes. Cæsar, whilst wintering upon the Sea-Coast of Tararcon, received Advice of these Things being performed by his Lieutenants Antistius, Furnius, and Agrippa. He himself in Person brought some down from the Mountains; others he engaged to be quiet by taking Hostages of them; others he sold under a Crown by the Right of War. The Thing appeared to the Senate worthy of the Laurel, worthy the Triumphal Chariot: But Cæsar was now so great, that he might despise Triumphs.

The Astures about the same time had come down in a great Body from their Mountains. Nor was the Expedition carried on rashly as by Barbarians; but pitching their Camp by the River Astura, and dividing their Army into three Parts, they prepared to attack three Camps of the Romans together. There would have been a dubious and a bloody Dispute, and I wish with equal Slaughter, the Enemy being so brave, and coming so suddenly, and with so much good Conduct, had not the Trigæcini betrayed them; by whom Caristas being

nitus



nitus Carifius, cum exercitu adveniens opprefsit confilia, sic quoque tamen non incruento certamine. Reliquias fusi exercitus validiffima civitas Lancia excepit: ubi adeo certatum est, ut, quum in captam urbem faces poscerentur, ægre dux impetraverit veniam, *ut victore Romanæ stans potius esset, quam incensa monumentum.* Hic finis Augusto bellicorum certaminum fuit; idem rebellandi finis Hispaniæ. Certa mox fides, & æterna pax cum ipsorum ingenio, in pacis partes promptiore: tum consilio Cæsaris, qui fiduciam montium timens, in quos se recipiebant, castra sua, sed quæ in plano erant, habitare & incolere iussit. Intentis esse consilii illud observari cæpit. Natura regionis circa se omnis aurifera, minique & chryfocollæ, & aliorum colorum ferax. Itaque exerceri solum iussit. Sic Astures & latentes in profundo opes suas atque divitias, dum aliis quærunt, nosse cœperunt. Omnibus ad Occasum & Meridiem pacatis gentibus, ad Septentrionem quoque, duntaxat intra Rhenum atque Danubium; item ad Orientem

*forewarned, coming up with his Army, prevented their Projects, and yet so too not without a bloody Dispute. The very strong City of Lancia received the Remains of the routed Army, where the Dispute was so warm, that when Torches were called for against the City after it was taken, the General with much ado obtained Pardon for it, that it might be a Monument of the Roman Victory standing, rather than burnt. This was with Augustus an End of all warlike Engagements, and the same an End of rebelling with Spain. After this their Faith was unmoved, and the Peace lasting, as well through their Disposition now made inclinable to the Side of Peace, as also by the Contrivance of Cæsar, who suspecting their Confidence in the Mountains, in which they used to withdraw themselves, ordered them to inhabit and live in his Camp, which was in the Plain. That begun to be taken Notice of as a Matter of great Prudence. The Nature of the Country all about is productive of Gold, and very fruitful in Vermilion, Chryfocolla, and other Colours. Wherefore he ordered the Soil to be dug. Thus the Asturians began to be acquainted with their Wealth and Riches concealed deep in the Earth, whilst they seek them out for others. All Nations in the West and the South being conquered; in the North too, only betwixt the Rhine and the Danube; and likewise in the East, betwixt Cyrus and Euphrates; the others*

*intra*

intra Cyrum & Euphratem; illi quoque reliqui qui immunes imperii erant, sentiebant tamen magnitudinem, & victorem gentium populum Romanum reverebantur. Nam & Scythæ misere legatos, & Sarmatæ, amicitiam petentes. Seres etiam, habitantesque sub ipso sole Indi, cum gemmis & margaritis, elephantes quoque inter munera trahentes, nihil magis quam longinquitatem viæ imputabant, quam quadriennio impleverant; & tamen ipse hominum color ab alio venire. bælo fatebatur. Parthi quoque, quasi victoriæ pœniteret, rapta clade Crassiana ultro signa retulere.

Sic ubique cuncta atque continua totius generis humani aut pax fuit, aut pæctio. Aususque tandem Cæsar Augustus septingentesimo ab urbe condita anno, Janum Geminum claudere bis ante se clausum; sub Numa rege, & victa primum Carthagine. Hinc conversus ad pacem, primum in omnia mala, & in luxuriam fluens sæculum, gravibus severisque legibus multis coercuit. Ob hæc tot facta ingentia Dictator perpetuus &

too, who were free from the Roman Subjection, perceived however their Grandeur, and revered the Roman People victorious over the Nations. For both the Scythians and Sarmatians sent Embassadors, begging our Alliance. The Seres too, and the Indians that live under the Sun, together with Jewels and precious Stones, bringing Elephants too amongst their Presents, reckoned nothing so much an Obligation upon the Emperor, as the Length of their Journey, which they had finished in four Years; and notwithstanding the Complexion of the Men discovered that they came from another Climate. The Parthians too, as if they repented them of their Victory, of their own accord brought back the Standards taken upon the Overthrow of Crassus.

Thus there was every where an universal and continued Peace of all Mankind, or an Agreement to be quiet. And Cæsar Augustus at last ventured, in the seven hundredth Year from the Building of the City, to shut the Temple of double-fac'd Janus, which had been shut but twice before him, under King Numa; and after Carthage was first conquered. After this applying himself to secure the Peace, he did by many strict and severe Laws restrain the Age, prone to all Mischief, and running fast into Luxury. For these great Actions he was made Dictator for Patër

*Pater patriæ* dictus. Tractatum etiam in senatu, an quia condidisset imperium, Romulus vocaretur: sed sanctius & reverentius visum est nomen *Augusti*; ut scilicet jam tum dum colit terras, ipso nomine & titulo consecraretur,

Life, and called the Father of his country. It was debated too in the Senate, whether he should not be called Romulus, because he had founded the Empire: But the Name of Augustus seemed more sacred and venerable, that he might even then, whilst he lived upon Earth, be deified by his very Name and Title.

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